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ABSTRACT

This curriculum unit is the final volume of a four-part series. Noting that the humanities reveal the values and beliefs that underlie social, political, and economic institutions, the unit contends that the study of other countries and their histories may be greatly enriched by a humanities approach that draws on the fields of literature, history, and art. It finds that students with knowledge of a culture developed through the study of humanities not only will be better able to communicate with people from other cultures but also will better comprehend the institutions within which they live and work. The unit focuses on answering the following questions: What does it mean to be Japanese? How have the Japanese defined and expressed themselves, their culture, and their nation through significant periods in modern history? It uses these questions to apply a humanities approach to the study of Japanese history and provide the organizing theme for the unit and the series. The 11 lessons draw upon a variety of Japanese and western source materials, memoirs, literature, photography, painting, cartooning, and advertising to enhance student understanding of the richness and multiplicity of Japanese experience during the postwar period. Each lesson begins with a brief introduction followed by a statement of learning objectives, a list of necessary materials, an approximate guide to class time required, a procedures section, discussion of films recommended to supplement the lesson, and additional resources such as background readings, slide scripts, and answer keys for student activities. The lesson challenges students to synthesize learning from the unit by selecting and organizing information into a period time line. Includes student handouts and transparencies. (BT)

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Japan 1945-1989

Re-creating a Modern Nation

A Humanities Approach to Japanese History, Part IV

Social Science Education Consortium
Boulder, Colorado

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Japan 1945-1989: Re-creating a Modern Nation

A Humanities Approach to Japanese History, Part IV

by
Lynn Parisi and Kathleen Woods Masalski
with Kathleen V. Krauth, Linda S. Wojtan, Sara Thompson,
Noriko Aso, and Alan Chalk

Social Science Education Consortium
Boulder, Colorado
2002

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ORDERING INFORMATION

This publication is the final volume of a four-part series entitled *A Humanities Approach to Japanese History*. Other titles in the series are:

Tokugawa Japan: The Great Peace and the Development of Urban Society
Meiji Japan: The Dynamics of National Change
Imperial Japan: Expansion and War

For information on any of the volumes in the series, contact SSEC Publications, Box 21270, Boulder, CO 80308-4270.

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The project that produced this unit, the fourth in a series entitled *A Humanities Approach to Japanese History*, began in late 1999 as an effort of the Social Science Education Consortium (SSEC). The project was conceived and launched by Lynn Parisi, formerly Associate Director of SSEC and currently Director of the Program for Teaching East Asia at the University of Colorado. Other staff who worked on the project at SSEC are Kathleen V. Krauth, Janet Hoaglund, Cindy Cook, Sarah Baldwin, and Laurel Singleton.

In January 2001, the Five College Center for East Asian Studies (FCCEAS) at Smith College, under the direction of Kathleen Woods Masalski, became a valued collaborator. In addition to the Center's providing administrative support, Center staff and scholars and teachers associated with the Center wrote and reviewed lessons, offered suggestions for evaluation and assessment, and recommended films appropriate to each lesson. The SSEC staff and administration are deeply indebted to FCCEAS for its contributions to the project's success.

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Janet Hoaglund, former SSEC staff member who is currently with the Program for Teaching East Asia at the University of Colorado, prepared the pronunciation guide and glossary, translated several documents, and provided Japanese language editing. Marc Musteric, graduate assistant at the Program for Teaching East Asia, also provided translation. Doris Troy, consultant to FCCEAS, proofread the manuscript.

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Introduction

A Humanities Approach to Japanese History

The study of other countries and their histories may be greatly enriched by a humanities approach that draws on the fields of literature, history, and art. The humanities reveal the values and beliefs that underlie social, political, and economic institutions. They provide a lens for looking at another culture in a way that develops multilayered understandings. Betty Bullard and Loretta Ryan's explanation, written in 1978, still has power today:

> A people's values are expressed through many channels. In their literature—their novels, poems, plays, and essays—they portray life as they have come to experience it. Their fine arts—their drawings, paintings, and sculpture—tell us how a people actually *see* the world. Their music reveals what sounds their ears find most pleasing or most interesting; their architecture—their sense of form in space. And their written alphabet is an important clue to the depth and nature of their contacts with other peoples and cultures.[1]

Students with knowledge of a culture developed through the study of humanities not only will be better able to communicate with people from that culture but will better comprehend the institutions within which they live and work as well.

Between 1992 and 1994, the Social Science Education Consortium received funding from the U.S. Department of Education to develop a multi-unit curriculum designed to assist teachers in integrating a humanities approach into the teaching of Japanese history. This project, A Humanities Approach to Japanese History, produced three units that addressed the time period 1603 to 1945. In 1999, SSEC received support from the Japan Foundation Center for Global Partnership to develop and publish a fourth and culminating unit to bring the series up to contemporary times. The four units in the series are: *Tokugawa Japan: The Great Peace and the Development of Urban Society*; *Meiji Japan: The Dynamics of National Change*; *Imperial Japan: Expansion and War*; and *Japan 1945-1989: Re-creating a Modern Nation.*

Introduction to the Postwar Japan Unit

What does it mean to be Japanese? How have Japanese people defined and expressed themselves, their culture, and their nation through significant periods in modern history? These questions set the stage for a humanities approach to the study of Japanese history and provide the organizing theme for this unit and the four-part curriculum series.

Postwar Japan: Re-creating a Modern Nation, part IV in the series, examines Japan's postwar history from its 1945 surrender ending World War II until 1989, a year that, marked by the death of Japan's wartime emperor, arguably ended Japan's postwar period. During this 45-year span, Japan, as a government and people, created a modern nation for the second time within 100 years. The first time had been during the reign of Emperor Meiji (1868 to 1911).

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[1] Betty Bullard and Loretta Ryan, "Introduction: Global Perspectives Through Asian Experiences," *Intercom 89* (1978), p. 2.

when a reinvigorated monarchy had set and achieved the goal of industrializing and modernizing Japan to take a place among the world powers.

In 1945, Japan's government, economy, and people had been devastated by 15 years of war. August 15, 1945—the day Japan surrendered—has been described by historian Carol Gluck as the moment in Japanese memory "when the past ended and the present began."[2] The end of the war, announced by an emperor speaking directly to his people for the first time, symbolized a chance to start anew. The Japanese people faced the daunting tasks of recovery and reconstruction, but, in rebuilding, they also faced the challenges and opportunities of redefining a national identity for the postwar world. Between 1945 and 1989, Japan institutionalized a democratic government, redefined social classes, rebuilt and redirected the economy, and established a global presence. By 1989, Japan commanded the status of a peaceful and technologically advanced nation—an economic superpower exporting products and culture to the rest of the world.

Despite such sweeping transformations, this time span in Japanese history rarely receives significant discussion in high school history courses. It is treated as a brief sidelight to both world and U.S. histories that runs as follows: Japan, benefiting from an enlightened U.S. Occu-pation and protected under the U.S. security umbrella, wrought an economic miracle to become, in 40 years, a global superpower. History is never so simple, and the story of Japan's rebirth following World War II is no exception. The postwar period was a tumultuous time variously experienced and perceived by people within Japan.

In examining this period, students have an opportunity to analyze historical story lines recently constructed and still very much debated. The 11 lessons in this unit draw upon a wide variety of Japanese and Western source materials—memoirs, literature, photography, painting, cartooning, and advertising—to enhance students' understanding of the richness and multiplicity of Japanese experience during the postwar period. Like historians, students interpret the materials and draw generalizations from them.

Lesson 1 revolves around the issue of historical periodization. Students analyze written and visual data to hypothesize about goals, accomplishments, and human experiences that can support the definition of the time span 1945 to 1989 as a historical period.

Lessons 2 and 3 focus on the Occupation of Japan, 1945-1952. Students consider the ways in which the end of the war and the Occupation symbolized a break in time and identity for Japan. They examine multiple dimensions of the Occupation as told in U.S. and Japanese government documents and as experienced and expressed by Japanese people.

Lessons 3 and 4 address an important theme of the period: Japan's "embrace" of democracy. Each lesson offers a case study in how groups within Japanese society interpreted and actualized democracy for themselves and for the nation during the late 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s. These case studies include the campaign to educate Japanese citizens about the new constitution and the 1960 riots protesting the U.S.-Japan security treaty.

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[2] Carol Gluck, "The Past in the Present," in Andrew Gordon, ed., *Postwar Japan as History* (Berkeley: University of California Press), pp. 64-95.

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In Lessons 5, 6, 9, and 10, students consider how rapid economic growth and burgeoning prosperity engendered changing definitions of what it meant to be Japanese. Lesson 5 focuses on the mass consumerism of the 1960s and the "dream," embraced by a majority of Japanese, of being middle class. Lesson 6 considers the case of widespread mercury poisoning in the city of Minamata and, with it, the social and environmental dimensions of rapid industrial growth. Lessons 9 and 10 focus on "slices" of Japanese society: women and corporate employees. Lesson 10 considers the human capital contributions to Japan's postwar success—corporate workers and the corporate work ethic.

Lesson 7 offers a different story of what it meant to be Japanese during this time by introducing students to people within several minority groups often left out of the middle-class "dream"—Ainu, Burakumin, Koreans, and Okinawans.

How did Japanese see their nation in the world? This question is addressed in Lesson 8. Students consider how a "new" postwar Japan was presented to the rest of the world on two global stages—the Tokyo Olympics of 1960 and the 1970 World Expo in Osaka.

A culminating lesson challenges students to synthesize learning from the unit by selecting and organizing information into a period time line. In the process, students consider history as a process rather than just a series of events.

Unit Objectives

Japan 1945-1989: Re-creating a Modern Nation addresses specific knowledge, skill, and attitude objectives. By completing all or parts of this unit, students will be better able to:

- Consider Japan's 1945 defeat and surrender as an opportunity to re-create political, social, and economic institutions.
- Analyze changes in Japanese society in the period from 1945 to 1989.
- Recognize societal dimensions of rapid political and economic transformations.
- Discuss the concept of national and group identity within Japan during the postwar period.
- Analyze art and literature and a range of nontraditional sources as historical "texts."
- Identify and work with a range of "voices" telling a multiplicity of stories of Japan's history from 1945 through 1989.
- Appreciate the ways that a nation's art and literature reflect and respond to events and issues in that nation's political and social development.
- Develop attitudes and skills that support multiple perspective-taking—the ability and willingness to consider issues from the viewpoints of different cultures and groups.

Notes to the Teacher

This unit is designed for social studies, world history, Asian studies, or humanities courses at grades 10-12; it may be used effectively in introductory courses in community colleges as well.

The unit begins with a short essay providing an overview of significant events and trends of the period. This essay is primarily designed for teacher use before beginning the unit; it may also be assigned as an introductory reading for advanced students.

The 11 lessons in this unit follow a standard format. A brief introduction is followed by a statement of learning objectives, a list of necessary materials, an approximate guide to class time required, a procedure section, a discussion of films recommended to supplement the lesson, and such additional resources as background readings, slide scripts, and answer keys for student activities. Student handouts conclude each lesson. Handouts and transparencies are identified by a lesson number and letter. For example, Handout 1A is the first handout in Lesson 1; Handout 4C is the third handout in Lesson 4. In the procedure section of each lesson, possible student responses to discussion questions are written in italics. On handout answer keys, student responses are also in italics. Transparencies of art or photographs to be shown to the class as a group are provided on a CD-ROM accompanying the unit. When the lesson suggests that a transparency be made of a handout, the handout is also provided on the CD-ROM for the user's convenience. Files on the CD-ROM are provided in both Word and PDF formats. To locate items on the CD, use the table of contents.

Many of the recommended feature films are available from Amazon (http://amazon.com) and from local video stores. Documentaries (as well as feature films and many other resources) can be borrowed from resource centers around the country. For example, teachers in the Rocky Mountain region can borrow materials from the Program for Teaching East Asia at the University of Colorado (595 UCB, University of Colorado, Boulder, CO 80309-0595, 303-735-5122) while New England teachers can borrow resources from the Five College Center for East Asian Studies (http://www.smith.edu/fcceas). PIER at Yale University (http://www.yale.edu/pieris/ResourceLibrary.htm) lends materials to teachers across the country for a handling fee.

Following the Japanese practice, we have listed Japanese names in the text with the family name first, followed by given name. This is the reverse of the U.S. practice of given name first, followed by family name: e.g., ONO Yoko vs. John LENNON. In the case of citations and references to works published in English by Japanese authors, the author is cited in the order used by the publisher, which is generally English name order. We have made every effort to follow Japanese practice while respecting individuals' own wishes; we apologize for any errors.

Japanese terms are italicized unless they are used so commonly in English that their meaning is universally understood. Japanese nouns are written the same in singular or plural form, as in Japanese grammar. For example, the term *samurai* may refer to one person or several. Meaning is evident from the verb and the context.

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Pronunciation Guide for Japanese Terms

Prepared by Janet Hoaglund

Vowels

There are five vowel sounds in Japanese—a, i, u, e, o—which are pronounced as follows:

a	as in *aloud*
i	as in long e, as in *bee*
u	as in *rude*
e	as in *pet*
o	as in *old*

Consonants

Consonants generally have the same sounds as in English. The letter *g* is always a hard sound, as in *good*.

The letter *l* was selected to pronounce Japanese words with *r* since the tongue is curled when pronouncing the consonants *ra, ri, ru, re, ro* rather than pursing the lips. The name *Reiko* in Japanese can be pronounced in English most closely by saying *Lay-koh*.

Intonation

Japanese words are pronounced with equal emphasis on each syllable.

Name Order

The last name is said first in Japanese. However, when publishing in English, Japanese authors often put their first name first. Similarly, Japanese Americans often use the U.S. practice. Japanese names listed in the guide appear as they do in the curriculum.

Japanese Names, Places, Terms Used in This Unit	**Pronunciation**
Aichi	Ah-ee-chee
Aichiro Fujiyama	Ah-ee-chee-low Foo-jee-yah-mah
Ainu Dokuritsu Sengen	Ah-ee-noo Doh-koo-ree-tsoo Sen-gen
Ainu Koseki Chosa o Yurusanai Kai	Ah-ee-noo Koh-say-key Choh-sah oh You-loo-sah-nah-ee Kah-ee
Ainu Moshiri	Ah-ee-noo Moh-shee-lee
akebia	ah-keh-bee-ah
Akihito	Ah-key-hee-toh
Amakusa	Ah-mah-koo-sah
Amami Oshima	Ah-mah-mee Oh-shee-mah
Ampo	Ahm-poh
Anchiku	Ahn-chee-koo
Aomori	Ah-oh-moh-lee
Aoyama-dori	Ah-oh-yah-mah-doh-lee
Arai Junko	Ah-lah-ee June-koh
Ariake	Ah-lee-ah-keh
Asahi shimbunsha	Ah-sah-hee Sheen-boon-shah
Asai Yusuke	Ah-sah-ee You-soo-keh
Asakusa	Ah-sah-koo-sah
Asama Sanso	Ah-sah-mah Sah-n-sew
Ashida Hitoshi	Ah-shee-dah Hee-toh-shee
Asanuma Inejiro	Ah-soo-noo-mah Ee-neh-jee-low
Awamori	Ah-wah-moh-lee
Burakumin	Boo-lah-koo-meen
Bunraku	Boon-lah-koo
Chiba	Chee-bah
Chichibu	Chee-chee-boo
chima chogori	chee-mah choh-goh-lee
Chiri Mashiho	Chee-lee Mah-shee-hoh
Chisso	Chees-soh
Chugoku	Choo-goh-koo
Chuo Chosa Sha	Choo-oh Choh-sah Shah
Chuo Koronsha	Choo-oh Koh-loan-shah
Daibutsuden	Dye-boo-tsoo-den
demo asobi	deh-moe ah-soh-bee
demo kurashi	deh-moe koo-lah-she
Denko	Den-koh
Detsuki	Deh-tsoo-kee
Domei	Doh-meh-ee
dorobo-gokko	doh-roh-boh gohk-koh

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Egawa	Eh-gah-wah
Enchi Fumiko	Eh-n-chee Foo-mee-koh
endaka	eh-n-dah-kah
Engi	Eh-n-gee
eta-hinin	eh-tah-hee-neen
Ezaki Leona	Eh-zah-key Leh-oh-nah
Fujii	Foo-jee-ee
Fujinoki	Foo-jee-noh-kee
Fukuda Takeo	Foo-koo-dah Tah-keh-oh
Fukui Kenichi	Foo-koo-ee Ken-ee-chee
Fukuryo-Maru	Foo-koo-lyoo-Mah-loo
Fumihiko-kun	Foo-mee-hee-koh-koon
Funabashi	Foo-nah-bah-shee
gaibu	gah-ee-boo
Genji Monogatari Emaki	Geh-n-jee Moh-no-gah-tah-lee Eh-mah-kee
Gensuikyo	Gehn-soo-ee-kyoh
Ginza	Geen-zah
Gion	Gee-own
Go-monka	Goh-moan-kah
Gunma	Goon-mah
Hakata	Hah-kah-tah
Hakodate	Hah-koh-dah-teh
Hakozaki	Hah-koh-zah-kee
Hanami	Hah-nah-mee
Hane Mikiso	Hah-neh Mee-kee-so
Haneda	Hah-nay-dah
Hasegawa	Hah-she-gah-wah
Hasegawa Machiko	Hah-she-gah-wah Mah-chee-koh
Hatanaka	Hah-tah-nah-kah
Hatoyama Ichiro	Hah-toe-yah-mah Ee-chee-low
Hayashi Hiraru	Hah-yah-shee Hee-kah-loo
Hayato Ikeda	Hah-yah-toh Ee-keh-dah
Heian	Hey-ahn
Heijo	Hey-joe
Heiwa Kokka Kensetsu	Hey-wah Kohk-kah Ken-seh-tsoo
Hibiya	Hee-bee-yah
Hideo	Hee-deh-oh
Hideoyoshi	Hee-deh-oh-yo-shee
Hideyoshi Toyotomi	Hee-deh-yo-shee Toe-yo-toe-mee
Higa Tomiko	Hee-gah Toe-mee-koh
Higashi Mineo	Hee-gah-shee Mee-neh-oh
Higashikuninomiya Naruhiko	Hee-gah-shee-koo-nee-noh-mee-yah Nah-lu-hee-koh
Hikarioga Oka	Hee-kah-lee-oh-gah Oh-kah
Himeyuri	Hee-meh-you-lee
Hirai Kozaburo	Hee-rah-ee Koh-zah-boo-low

Hirohito	Hee-low-hee-toe
Hirotsu Ryoru	Hee-low-tsoo Ryoh-lu
Hisano Eiko	Hee-sah-no Eh-ee-koh
Hisao Horinouchi	Hee-sah-oh Hoh-lee-no-oo-chee
Hitachi	Hee-tah-chee
Hokoku	Hoh-koh-koo
Hokkaido	Hohk-kah-ee-doe
Hokkai Gakuen	Hoh-k-kah-ee Gah-koo-eh-n
Hokuriku	Hoh-koo-lee-koo
Homu Beika	Hoh-moo Bay-kah
Honda Katsuichi	Hone-dah Kah-tsoo-ee-chee
Honjo	Hone-joe
Honshu	Hone-shoo
Hori	Hoh-lee
Hosokawa Hajime	Hoh-sew-kah-wah Hah-jee-meh
Ibaragi Noriko	Ee-bah-lah-gee No-lee-koh
Ibaraki Taeko and Tsugunori	Eee-bah-lah-key Tah-eh-koh and Tsoo-goo-no-lee
Ichikawa	Ee-chee-kah-wah
Ichio Asukata	Ee-chee-oh Ah-soo-kah-tah
Ichiro Kiyose	Ee-chee-low Kee-yoh-she
Iejima	Ee-eh-jee-mah
Ienaga Saburo	Ee-eh-nah-gah Sah-boo-low
Ieson	Ee-eh-sewn
Ikeda Hayato	Ee-keh-dah Hah-yah-toe
Ikuko Atsumi	Ee-koo-koh Ah-tsoo-mee
Inaba Yoshikazu	Ee-nah-bah Yoh-shee-kah-zoo
Ishibashi Tanzan	Ee-shee-bah-shee Tahn-zahn
Ishikari	Ee-shee-kah-lee
Ishimure Michiko	Ee-shee-moo-leh Mee-chee-koh
Itami Juzo	Ee-tah-mee Joo-zoh
Jabisen	jah-bee-sen
jetto	jeht-toe
Jiyuto	Jee-yoo-toh
Jiyu Minshuto	Jee-yoo Meen-shoo-toe
joetsu	joh-eh-tsoo
jueru	joo-eh-loo
jutaku	joo-tah-koo
kaa	kah-ah
kabuki	kah-boo-key
kaidashi-gokko	kah-ee-dah-shee-gohk-koh
Kaiso no Nihon Gaiko	Kah-ee-sew no Nee-hohn Gah-ee-koh
Kaizawa Seitaro	Kah-ee-zah-wah Say-tah-low
Kamakichi	Kah-mah-key-chee
Kamba Michiko	Kah-m-bah Mee-chee-koh
kamida	kah-mee-dah

Kamui	kah-moo-ee
Kagawa	Kah-gah-wah
Kanagawa	Kah-nah-gah-wah
Kanamori Tokujiro	Kah-nah-moh-lee Toe-koo-jee-low
Kannon	kah-noh-n
Kano Naizen	Kah-noh Nah-ee-zen
Karafuto	Kah-lah-foo-toh
Kara teebi	kah-lah tey-bee
Kashiwa	Kah-shee-wah
Kasuga-mura	Kah-soo-gah-moo-lah
Kasumigaseki	Kah-soo-mee-gah-seh-kee
Katayama Tetsu	Kah-tah-yah-mah Teh-tsoo
Kato Etsuro	Kah-toe Eh-tsoo-low
Kato Koichi	Kah-toe Koh-ee-chee
katsura	kay-tsoo-lah
Kawabata Yasunari	Kah-wah-bah-tah Yah-soo-nah-lee
Kawagoe	Kah-wah-goh-eh
Kawahara Toshiaki	Kah-wah-hah-rah Toe-shee-ah-kee
Kawasaki	Kah-wah-sah-kee
Kawashima Eiko	Kah-wah-shee-mah Eh-ee-koh
Kayano Shigeru	Kah-yah-no Shee-geh-lu
Keiji	Kay-ee-jee
Keio Gijuku	Kay-oh Gee-joo-koo H. S.
keizai shosetsu	Kay-zah-ee shoh-seh-tsoo
Kinshicho	Key-n-shee-choh
Kishi Nobusuke	Key-shee Noh-boo-soo-kay
Kiyoaki Murata	Key-yoh-ah-key Moo-lah-tah
Kiyose	Key-yoh-seh
Kodansha	Koh-dahn-shah
Koga	Koh-gah
Komeito	Koh-may-toe
Konoe Fumiro	Koh-noh-eh Foo-mee-low
Koron Kagaku Kyokai	Koh-loan Kah-gah-koo Kyoh-kah-ee
koseki	koh-say-key
koshinjo	koh-sheen-joh
Kotan	Koh-tah-n
Kubota Hiromi & Hiroshi	Koo-boh-tah Hee-low-mee & Hee-roe-shee
Kudan	Koo-don
Kudo	Koo-doh
Kugai Jodo: Waga Minamata-byo	Koo-gah-ee Joe-doe Wah-gah Mee-nah-mah-tah-byoh
Kumamoto	Koo-mah-moe-toh
kura	koo-lah
Kurashi no Techo	Koo-lah-shee noh Teh-choh
Kurihara Sadako	Koo-lee-hah-lah Sah-dah-koh
Kurosawa Akira	Koo-loo-sah-wah Ah-key-lah
Kuroda Kazuo	Kah-zoo-oh Koo-low-dah
kyoiku mama	kyoh-ee-koo mah-mah
Kyoko Inoue	Kyoh-koh Ee-no-ooh-ay

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Kyosanshugisha Domei	Kyoh-sahn-shoo-gee-shah Doh-may
Kyushu	Cue-shoe
Lera no Kai	Leh-lah no Kah-ee
Mainichi Shimbun	Mah-ee-nee-chee Sheen-boon
Maja	Mah-hah
maki-e	mah-key-eh
manga	mah-n-gah
manju	mah-n-joo
Mari Yoko	Mah-lee Yoh-koh
Maruki Iri & Toshi	Mah-loo-key Ee-lee & Toe-shee
Matsuda Fumio	Mah-tsoo-dah Foo-mee-oh
Matsukata	Mah-tsoo-kah-tah
Matsumae	Mah-tsoo-mah-eh
Matsumoto	Mah-tsoo-moe-toe
Matsushita Denki	Mah-tsoo-shee-tah Den-key
Meiji	May-jee
Meisei	May-say
Mie	Mee-eh
Mikasa	Mee-kah-sah
Miki Takeo	Mee-key Tah-keh-oh
Miminashi	Mee-mee-nah-shee
Minamata	Mee-nah-mah-tah
Minobe Ryokichi	Mee-noh-beh Lyoh-key-chee
Minshu Shakaito	Meen-shoo Shah-kah-ee-toe
(Nihon) Minshuto	Mee-n-shoo-toh
Mishima Yukio	Mee-shee-mah You-key-oh
Mitsubishi Honsha	Mee-tsoo-bee-shee Hoh-n-shah
Mitsui Miike	Mee-tsoo-ee Mee-ee-keh
Mitsutomo	Mee-tsoo-toe-moh
Miwa Takashi	Mee-wah Tah-kah-shee
Miyagi	Mee-yah-gee
Miyakejima	Mee-ya-keh-jee-mah
Miyazawa Shoji	Mee-yah-zah-wah Show-jee
Mochizuki Fusae	Moh-chee-zoo-key Foo-sah-eh
Modo	Moh-doe
Morimoto Hisae	Moh-lee-moe-toe Hee-sah-eh
Morita Yoshimitsu	Moh-lee-tah Yoh-shee-mee-tsoo
Morita Akio	Moh-lee-tah Ah-kee-oh
Morito	Moh-lee-toe
Mori Yoko	Moh-lee Yoh-koh
Motomachi	Moe-toe-mah-chee
Munenori Akagi	Moo-neh-noh-lee Ah-kah-gah-ee
Murasaki	Moo-lah-sah-kee
Muromachi	Moo-low-mah-chee
Nagai Kafu	Nah-gah-ee Kah-foo
Nagashima	Nah-gah-shee-mah

Nagoya	Nah-go-yah
naibu	nah-ee-boo
Naha	Nah-hah
Nakano-kun	Nah-kah-no-koon
Nakajima	Nah-kah-jee-mah
Nakasone Yasuhiro	Nah-kah-sew-neh Ya-soo-hee-low
Nakayama	Nah-kah-yah-mah
Nara	Nah-lah
Naruse Mikio	Nah-loo-say Mee-key-oh
Natsuo	Nah-tsoo-oh
nebanaranu	neh-bah-nah-lah-noo
Nibutani	Nee-boo-tah-nee
Nihonbashi	Nee-hon-bah-shee
Nihon Keizai Shinbun	Nee-hah-n Kay-zah-ee Sheen-boon
Nihon Rodokumiai Sohyogikai	Nee-hon Low-doh-koo-mee-ah-ee Sew-hyoh-gee-kah-ee
Niigata	Nee-ee-gah-tah
Nippo	Neep-poh
Nisei	Nee-say
Nishi Haruhiko	Nee-shee Hah-roo-hee-koh
Nishinari	Nee-shee-nah-lee
Nishi Suehiro	Nee-shee Soo-eh-hee-low
Nishijima Teru	Nee-shee-jee-mah Teh-roo
Nishitani	Nee-shee-tah-nee
Nitani Kunimatsu & Taro	Nee-tah-nee Koo-nee-mah-tsoo & Tah-low
No	Noh
Noda	Noh-dah
Noge	Noh-geh
Noguchi & Noge Michihiko	Noh-goo-chee & Noh-geh Mee-chee-hee-koh
Noriko Aso	Noh-lee-koh Ah-sew
Norio Ohga	Noh-lee-oh Oh-ga
noro	noh-loh

o-ba	oh-bah-ah
Ogasawara	Oh-gah-sah-wah-rah
Ogawa	Oh-gah-wah
Ohira Misayoshi	Oh-hee-lah Mee-sah-yo-shee
Ohkubo	Oh-koo-bow
Okamoto Naokazu	Oh-kah-moe-toe Nah-oh-kah-zoo
Okane	Oh-kah-neh
Okinawa	Oh-kee-nah-wah
Omoi	Oh-moh-ee
Omura Akiko	Oh-moo-rah Ah-kee-koh
Onaruto	Oh-nah-loo-toe
Ono Tsutomu	Oh-no Tsoo-toe-moo
Osaka	Oh-sah-kah
Ono Kinichi	Oh-no Key-nee-chee
Ohima Nagisa	Oh-shee-mah Nah-gee-sah
Oshiro Tatsuhiro	Oh-shee-low Tah-tsoo-hee-low

Ozaki	Oh-zah-key
Ozu Yasujiro	Oh-zoo Yah-soo-jeh-low
panpan asobi	pahn-pahn-ah-sew-bee
Rikiya Nishimura	Lee-key-yah Nee-shee-moo-rah
Rokuon-ji Kinkaku	Low-koo-own-jee Key-n-kah-koo
Rosetsu Nagasawa	Low-she-tsoo Nah-gah-sah-wah
runpen-gokko	loon-pen-gohk-koh
Ryukyu Bonin	Lyoo-cue Bow-neen
Sadaharu Oh	Sah-dah-hah-loo Oh
Sadayoshi Nakayama	Sah-dah-yo-shee Nah-kah-yah-mah
Saeki Ozawa	Sah-eh-key Oh-zah-wah
Sagacho	Sah-gah-choh
Saisho Yuriko	Sah-ee-show You-lee-koh
Saitama	Sah-ee-tah-mah
Sakai Kenkichi	Sah-kah-ee Ken-key-chee
Sakai Yoshinori	Sah-kah-ee Yo-shee-no-lee
Sakata	Sah-kah-tah
Sakuma	Sah-koo-mah
sanin	sahn-neen
Sankei Shimbun	Sah-n-kay Sheen-boon
sarariman	sah-lah-lee-mahn
Sasaki Naokata	Sah-sah-key Nah-oh-kah-tah
(Wesley) Sasaki Uemura	Sah-sah-key Oo-eh-moo-lah
Sato Hidesuke & Eisaku	Sah-toe Hee-deh-soo-keh & Eh-ee-sah-koo
Satsuma	Sah-tsoo-mah
Satsunan	Sah-tsoo-nah-n
Sayoko	Sah-yo-koh
Sazae-san	Sah-zah-eh-sah-n
Seikan (Tunnel)	Seh-ee-kah-n
Seiji	Say-jee
Sekine Hiroshi	She-key-neh Hee-low-shee
sempuki	sehm-poo-key
sengo	seh-n-goh
Sengo wa owatta ka	Sen-goh wah oh-watt-tah-kah
Senkichi Sayama	Seh-n-key-chee Sah-yah-mah
sensei	seh-n-say
Senso to kyoiku o megutte	Sen-sew toe kyoh-ee-koo oh meh goot-teh
sentaku	sehn-tah-koo
Seto Ohashi	Seh-toe Oh-hah-shee
Shakaito	Shah-kah-ee-toe
shamisen	shah-mee-seh-n
shamo	shah-mow
Shibuya	Shee-boo-yah
Shidehara Kijuro	Shee-deh-hah-lah Key-joo-low
Shigeharu Matsumoto	Shee-geh-hah-loo Mah-tsoo-moh-toh
Shigeo Iwase	Shee-geh-oh Ee-wah-seh

Shikoku	Shee-koh-koo
Shima Tsuyoshi	Shee-mah Tsoo-yoh-shee
Shimbun	Sheen-boon
Shinjuku	Shee-n-joo-koo
Shinkansen	Sheen-kah-n-sen
Shinoda Masahiro	Shee-no-dah Mah-sah-hee-low
Shinodayama	Shee-no-dah-yah-mah
Shinto	Sheen-toe
Shioze	Shee-oh-zeh
Shiroyama Saburo	Shee-low-yah-mah Sah-boo-low
Shiseido	Shee-say-doe
shitan	shee-tah-n
Shiryo Sengo Nijunenshi	Shee-lyoh Sen-go Nee-jyoo-neh-n-shee
Shoichi	Show-ee-chee
Shoken	Show-ken
Shoseki	Show-she-key
Shotaro Ishinomori	Show-tah-low Ee-shee-no-mow-lee
Showa Denko	Showa Den-koh
Sobu Tomio	Sew-boo Toe-mee-oh
Sohyo	Sew-hyoh
Sousuke Uno	Sew-ooh-soo-keh Ooh-no
Soya-maru	Sew-yah mah-loo
Sugino Yoshiko	Soo-gee-no Yoh-shee-koh
suihanki	soo-ee-hahn-key
sumi-e	soo-mee-eh
Sumii Sue	Soo-mee-ee Soo-eh
Sumitomo Honsha	Soo-mee-toe-moh Hoh-n-shah
Sunakawa	Soo-nah-kah-wah
Suzuki Kantaro	Soo-zoo-key Kah-n-tah-low
Suzuki Zenko	Soo-zoo-key Zen-koh
Tachiagare	Tah-chee-ah-gah-leh
Taisho	Tah-ee-show
Takako Doi	Tah-kah-koh Doe-ee
Takamado	Tah-kah-mah-doe
Takamatsuzuka	Tah-kah-mah-tsoo-zoo-kah
Takayama Kumiko	Tah-kah-yah-mah Koo-mee-koh
Takeshima	Tah-keh-shee-mah
Takeshita Noboru	Tah-keh-shee-tah Noh-bow-loo
Tamaki Uemura	Tah-mah-key Oo-eh-moo-lah
Tanaka Fumie	Tah-nah-kah Foo-mee-eh
Tanaka Kakuei	Tah-nah-kah Kah-koo-eh-ee
Tange Kenzo	Tah-n-geh Ken-zoh
Tanna	Tahn-nah
Tatsumi Sasaki	Tah-tsoo-mee Sah-sah-key
tejo-gokko	teh-joe-gohk-koh
Tesukayama Jogakuen	Teh-soo-kah-yah-mah Joe-gah-koo-eh-n
Todai	Toe-dye
Todaiji	Toe-dye-jee

Toda Kozo	Toe-dah Koh-zoh
Tohoku	Toe-hoe-koo
Tojo Hideki	Toe-joe Hee-deh-key
Tokaido	Toe-kah-ee-doe
Tokugawa	Toe-koo-gah-wah
Tone	Toe-neh
Tonegawa Susumu	Toe-neh-gah-wah Soo-soo-moo
tonoto	toe-noh-toe
Torri-Gekkyu	Toh-lee-Gehk-kyoo
Toshiko Matsuo	Toe-shee-koh Mah-tsoo-oh
totome	toe-toe-meh
Toyosan	Toe-yo-sah-n
Toyota Matsuzaki	Toe-yo-tah Mah-tsoo-zah-key
Tozo	Toe-zoh
tsubo	tsoo-bow
Tsugawa	Tsoo-gah-wah
Tsuji Kiyoaki	Tsoo-jee Key-oh-yah-kee
tsuki	tsoo-key
Tsukuba	Tsoo-koo-bah
Tsunoda Tadanobu	Tsoo-noh-dah Tah-dah-no-boo
Tsuruoka	Tsoo-loo-oh-kah
Tsushima	Tsoo-shee-mah
Uchinanchu	Ooh-chee-nah-n-choo
Ueno	Ooh-eh-no
Ueda Makoto	Ooh-eh-dah Mah-koh-toe
Unai	Ooh-nah-ee
Uno Yumi	Ooh-no You-mee
usui	ooh-soo-ee
Utari Kyokai	Ooh-tah-lee Kyoh-kah-ee
Utsugi Takashi	Ooh-tsoo-gee Tah-kah-shee
Wakamiya	Wah-kah-mee-yah
Wakato	Wah-kah-toe
Wakayama	Wah-kah-yah-mah
Wajin	Wah-jeen
Waseda	Wah-seh-day
Watanabe Eizo	Wah-tah-nah-beh Eh-ee-zoh
Yagi Kitaro	Yah-gee Key-tah-low
Yahazu	Yah-ha-zoo
yaki-nohara	yah-kee-no-hah-lah
Yamagata	Yah-mah-gah-tah
Yamaguchi Yoshitada	Yah-mah-goo-chee Yo-shee-tah-dah
Yamanaka Kuhei	Yah-mah-nah-tah Koo-hey
Yamanoue	Yah-mah-noh-ooh-eh
Yamanokuchi Baku	Yah-mah-noh-koo-chee Bah-koo
Yamato Tasuke	Yah-mah-toe Tah-soo-keh
Yamatonchu	Yah-mah-tone-choo

yamiichi-gokko	yah-mee-ee-chee gohk-koh
Yasuda Hozensha	Yah-soo-dah Hoh-zen-shah
Yasukuni	Yah-soo-koo-nee
yokan	yo-oh-kah-n
Yokkaichi	Yolk-kah-ee-chee
Yokohama	Yo-koh-ha-mah
Yoko Kirishima	Yo-koh Key-lee-shee-mah
Yomiuri Shimbun	Yo-mee-oo-lee Sheen-boon
Yomota Inuhiko	Yoh-mow-tah Ee-noo-hee-koh
Yoshida Shigeru	Yo-shee-dah Shee-geh-loo
Yoshihisa	Yo-shee-hee-sah
Yoshimi Takeuchi	Yo-shee-mee Tah-keh-oo-chee
Yoshinori Kawai	Yoh-shee-noh-lee Kah-wah-ee
Yoshizawa Renzaburo	Yo-shee-zah-wah Len-zah-boo-low
Yu Aku	You Ah-koo
Yukawa Hideki	You-kah-wah Hee-deh-key
Yukie	You-kay-eh
Yuki Shoji	You-key Show-jee
Yukimura	You-key-moo-lah
Yukio	You-key-oh
Yusuke	You-soo-keh
zaibatsu	zah-ee-bah-tsoo
zengakuren	zen-gah-koo-len
Zenkyoto	Zen-kyoh-toe

Postwar Japan, 1945-1989

by Noriko Aso

What is a historical period? How do we choose one year over any other for the beginning or end of an era? What provides coherence to what happens in-between? When studying even the most seemingly self-contained event, let alone a span of 10, 50, or 100 years, one often finds the story becoming increasingly complicated and intertwined with others. Dating an era from one point in time rather than another must be admitted to be, in part, a matter of convenience. Yet it is not a completely arbitrary act. Certain moments in time give rise to institutions, movements, and concepts that may not have emerged from a vacuum, but that certainly offer new opportunities for action and thought. So long as we are aware of how we define our focus on particular historical actors (an individual, a group, a government, even an object or the environment), we can begin to speak of distinct trends, phases, and epochs.

In this unit, we focus on the years 1945 to 1989, commonly referred to as the postwar (*sengo*) era in modern Japanese history.[1] Each lesson presents a variety of perspectives and themes to provide a sense of complexity and change over this time period. Some of these topics can by no means be neatly encapsulated within the 1945 to 1989 framework. Indeed, we hope that the materials presented in the lessons will spark inquiry and debates that also have significance for present-day developments. Nevertheless, we suggest that the four decades spanning the mid-1940s to the late 1980s shared certain interests, attitudes, alliances, conflicts, institutions, and movements that marked the "postwar" period as distinct.

This essay offers a political and economic—not social or cultural—overview to provide a sense of the official institutions that shaped the postwar era. Why begin with 1945? In this year, the Japanese government's official declaration of surrender to the Allies brought a dark chapter in Japanese history to a close. For many Japanese, 1945 became a "year zero" for the scripting of new lives and new story lines. One of the most important hallmarks of the new era was its American-authored constitution, in which the relationship of the Japanese state to ordinary citizens was fundamentally transformed. Of course, in actuality, wiping the slate clean was not easy. The "war" in "postwar" sustained troubling memories. To put these ghosts to rest, Japanese officials periodically proclaimed the end of the postwar period from the early 1950s. Yet a feeling of connection with 1945 was difficult to erase from public consciousness. Indeed, Emperor Hirohito,[2] in whose name millions of Japanese soldiers had fought and died in the 1930s and 1940s, was still reigning in a symbolic capacity in the 1980s. So when did the postwar era come to an end? A sense of closure began to take hold in 1989 with the death of this emperor. While reactions included sorrow, relief, reflection, and indifference, his passing forced recognition that the Japan of the 1980s was far and distant from 1945.

The Occupation Period

It is not surprising that the Occupation period (1945-1952) was experienced quite differently by the American occupiers and the Japanese occupied, but differences within each

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[1] For a more extended account and analysis of the term *sengo*, see Carol Gluck, "The Past in the Present," in Andrew Gordon, ed., *Postwar Japan as History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), pp. 64-95.
[2] Emperor Hirohito was posthumously known as Emperor Showa. Showa is also the name for the period during which he reigned (1926-1989). However, I will refer to this emperor as "Hirohito" throughout the essay, as this is the name most familiar to Americans.

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camp should also be noted. The American administrators were divided among those who advocated harsh punishment of the wartime enemy, those who urged idealistic political, social, and economic reforms, and those who found common ground with Japanese wartime elites in a shared anticommunism. Japanese responses to the American policies also varied considerably, particularly since state and public interests often did not coincide. Tarnished by responsibility for guiding Japan into a ruinous war, Japanese elites had little choice but to publicly support American policies. Yet behind the scenes, they negotiated with the Occupation authorities to salvage elements, the emperor above all, of the old regime. For most ordinary Japanese, however, shoring up a discredited emperor system was not a major concern. Finding food, housing, and employment were far more pressing matters: urban industrial centers, including Tokyo, Osaka, and Hiroshima, had been reduced to rubble, agricultural production suffered from fertilizer and tool shortages, and the return of millions of Japanese soldiers and colonists from abroad placed further pressures on already insufficient domestic resources.

Unlike the case of postwar Germany, responsibility for the occupation of Japan was not divided among the Allied Powers. With General Douglas MacArthur as Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP) in East Asia, the Americans were clearly in charge. The Occupa-tion administration proceeded to treat Japan as a social laboratory for the transformation of this Asian nation into a liberal, American-style democracy. The first phase of the Occupation was marked by sweeping reforms in Japanese society "to insure that Japan [would] not again become a menace to the United States or to the peace and security of the world" and to encourage the Japanese people to "form democratic and representative organizations."[3] The high point of this period of demilitarization and democratization was the enactment of the postwar Japanese con-stitution in 1947. Officially, this document was a revision of the prewar constitution, but it was in actuality scripted anew by the SCAP staff. Hallmarks of the postwar constitution included transference of power from the emperor to the Japanese people; guarantees of equality before the law for all Japanese citizens; the prohibition of discrimination on the basis of race, creed, sex, social status, or family origin; and, perhaps most famously, rejection of the right to wage war to settle international disputes. The response of the general population was immediate: the first elections featured hundreds of parties, thousands of candidates, high voter turnouts, and included women for the first time. Meanwhile, under the Trade Union Law of December 1945, the newly legalized unionization movement flourished. By 1946, 52 percent of the labor force was union-ized, and thousands of strikes took place as workers demanded a guarantee of living wages and greater control over workplace conditions.

Nevertheless, emerging Cold War tensions also shaped American policies for East Asia.[4] The Soviet Union was kept from participating in the occupation of Japan, while the Korean peninsula was split at the 38th parallel between American and Soviet administrative territories. Washington took an increasingly strong anticommunist stance in East Asia in the late 1940s, as tensions further mounted between the United States and the Soviet Union and the civil war in China ended with a communist victory. Amid these developments, Japan became more than a showcase for repentance and democracy in the eyes of the Americans. It served as the focal point of Washington's strategy to "contain" continental communism. The United States poured money, materials, and manpower into building up its military bases in Japan, particularly Okinawa.[5] These facilities were key for American involvement in the Korean War (1950-1953). Meanwhile, American support for social reform within Japan began to lose ground to efforts to stimulate economic recovery. This American "Reverse Course" brought an end to Japanese reparation payments, permitted the reconsolidation of large corporations, and discouraged union militancy. Moreover, plans were laid to link Japanese industry to the markets of South Korea, Taiwan, and Southeast Asia in a disconcerting revival of the former Japanese colonial empire's economic logic.[6]

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[3] "Basic Initial Post-Surrender Directive," *Political Reorientation of Japan, Report of the Government Section, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1949), vol. 2, Appendix A:11, pp. 423-426.

[4] For an excellent overview of the Cold War policies of the United States in relation to Japan, see John Dower, "Occupied Japan and the Cold War in Asia," in *Japan in War and Peace* (New York: The New Press, 1993), pp. 155-207.

In the end, the "New Japan" inaugurated under the American Occupation was in some ways not so new after all. The Japanese emperor was retained in the constitution as the "symbol of national unity." The Japanese bureaucracy had been left largely intact in order to execute the policies of the American authorities. Moreover, the authority of the state's centralized planning institutions to guide and coordinate the industrial and trade sectors—originally created to meet the demands of "total war"—only grew stronger under the American program of recovery. Wartime mobilization had swelled the ranks of an industrial labor force ready to work as soon as factories reopened; by 1952, "de-purging" had brought back many former political, economic, and even military leaders, even some who had been incarcerated as war criminals, to speed economic recovery, foster political stability, and stem the tide of communism in Asia.

Conservative Consolidation

When the San Francisco Peace Treaty and the U.S.-Japan security treaty were signed in 1951, direct American governance of Japan came to a close (with the significant exception of Okinawa). Prime Minister Yoshida Shigeru played on American demands for Japanese support during the Korean War to bring about an early end to the Occupation, arguing that independence would make Japan a stronger ally for the United States. In what came to be known as the "Yoshida Doctrine," the Japanese government offered permanent U.S. military bases and strict obedience to American foreign policy in return for control over domestic matters and the freedom to focus its resources on economic recovery. Nevertheless, the Occupation left lasting marks on the postwar Japanese landscape. On the one hand, many leftists continued to champion antimilitaristic and democratic values that had flourished in the early years of the Occupation. On the other, the American reassessment of priorities in the late 1940s allowed the conservative establishment to regroup well before Japanese independence was regained. Not surprisingly, these bureaucrats and politicians moved swiftly in the early 1950s to correct the "excesses" of some American reforms by recentralizing control over education and the police and further softening antimonopoly legislation.

The 1950s were marked by a struggle between those who sought to consolidate power at top levels and those who resisted this trend, often in the name of protecting new rights gained under the postwar constitution. In the world of Japanese party politics, Diet proceedings were rough-and-tumble. Leftists engaged in boycotts and other forms of disruption, while conservatives made heavy-handed use of their numerical majority to pass legislation. The newly legalized Socialist and Communist Parties did well in the first elections under the postwar constitution, and Socialist Katayama Tetsu was selected as prime minister in 1947. However, the compromises struck with centrist groups to place Katayama in power backfired: unity on the left dissolved as more-radical elements departed from the coalition. Conservative parties stepped into the vacuum and presided over the treaty negotiations that would end the American Occupation. In 1954, the Socialist Party again began to receive increasing support from voters and formed a second united front with other parties on the left. The following year, the conservative parties merged as the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) to combat this threat. The LDP enjoyed close ties to the bureaucracy and big business, which allowed it to employ pork-barrel politics to court votes. In this way, the LDP secured dominance in the Diet through the 1990s.

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[5] Technically speaking, the island chain that constitutes Okinawa prefecture today was known as the Ryukyuan Kingdom before Japanese annexation and as the Ryukyus under American Occupation. I have used the name "Okinawa" throughout this essay in order to avoid confusion.

[6] National Archives, 740.009 control (Korea) file, box 3827, Marshall's note to Acheson of 29 January 1947, attached to Vincent to Acheson, 27 January 1947.

Yet confrontation continued in the latter half of the 1950s, finally coming to a head with two massive protest movements in 1960. The first was the nine-month-long strike at the Mitsui Miike coal mines. The miners demanded better working conditions and an end to targeted dismissals. The powerful Mitsui Corporation insisted on the right to make management decisions based on profit rather than the needs of workers. The fact that the coal industry was in rapid decline contributed to a sense of urgency and resolve on the part of both the workers and the corporation. The strike was not an isolated struggle, however. The LDP, the national bureaucracy, and big business made an effort throughout the 1950s to curb union activism.[7] Their methods included sponsoring corporate "second" unions to split union membership, purging radical union leaders, and employing force to crush strikes. The Miike strike became a focal point for the efforts of various unions, particularly in the coal-mining, steel, automotive, and railway industries, to resist unilateral management control. Tens of thousands of union activists and student radicals supported the miners, but the overwhelming resources marshaled by Mitsui Corporation eventually wore down the strikers and ended the militant phase of the Japanese labor movement.

The other major protest of 1960 involved millions who rallied to protest the ratification of a revised version of the U.S.-Japan security treaty. At first glance, the controversy over this treaty may seem puzzling. In stark contrast to the original signed in 1951, the new version described a more equal relationship between the two nations. The United States no longer had the right to take action should domestic affairs in Japan become unstable, the United States had to inform the Japanese government should there be major policy shifts regarding American troops or armaments in Japan, and the treaty was subject to renewal every ten years. Neverthe-less, many Japanese were uncomfortable with the way in which the very existence of the treaty prevented Japan from adopting a purely neutral stance amid the heightened Cold War tensions of the 1950s. Moreover, the revised treaty was the pet project of Prime Minister Kishi Nobusuke, once arrested as a Class A war criminal and current member of the hard-liner faction in the LDP. Conservative politicians and bureaucrats had been working since the end of the Occupation to reinstate various measures from the prewar era, such as strengthening the powers of the police. Kishi's background and brash manner in further pursuing such policies strengthened the public's suspicions that the government was attempting to turn back the clock. The dubious legality of the means by which the LDP forced ratification of the treaty in the face of the opposition's delaying tactics was the straw that broke the camel's back. From late May to late June, the Japanese Diet and other symbolic sites were surrounded by demonstrators. Since the crowds included many ordinary citizens as well as leftist party members, union members, and radical students, some conservatives feared that the country was on the brink of revolution. While the protesters were ultimately not able to reverse the ratification of the security treaty, Kishi was forced to resign, and a proposed visit by President Eisenhower was canceled. As the demonstrations wound down, many on both the left and the right took stock of the mixed results of 1960 and concluded that the time had come for compromise rather than confrontation.

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[7] For a detailed discussion of management-labor struggles in the 1950s, see John Price, *Japan Works: Power and Paradox in Postwar Industrial Relations* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997).

Rapid Economic Growth

In the 1960s, moderates in the conservative establishment transformed political questions regarding distribution of social resources into technical debates on how to achieve the fastest possible rate of economic growth.[8] Ikeda Hayato, the new prime minister and a member of the moderate faction in the LDP, moved to reconsolidate public opinion by announcing an "Income Doubling" plan for the new decade. This "apolitical" goal had broad appeal and posed little risk to the administration, as the national income had been climbing at a rate of more than ten percent since 1954. The payoff was immediate. Popular energies were rechanneled into economic nationalism under the guidance of the bureaucracy, LDP, and big business. Corporations also came to terms with their employees by promising a guaranteed share of profits in the form of regular wage increases and job security. In return, workers joined company rather than trade unions and yielded control over resources, wage scales, and promotions to management.

Such compromises gave rise to the mobilization and social stability that fueled the Japanese "economic miracle." By 1968, only the United States and the Soviet Union had larger economies, and domestic consumption levels climbed steadily by approximately seven percent per year. How was this impressive growth rate achieved and maintained? The answer lies in part in the timing of Japanese reentry into world trade: conditions for rapid growth were particularly favorable during the 1950s and 1960s. World trade was expanding at a fast clip, fuels and raw materials were easily obtained and relatively inexpensive, and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) promoted free trade and capital flows within the American sphere of influence. American assistance during the Occupation and later decades was also critical. Indeed, American procurements during the Korean War provided the jolt needed to finally bring Japanese industrial production up to prewar levels. The U.S.-Japan security treaty further allowed Japan to cap its military expenditures around one percent of its Gross National Product (GNP), in contrast to the eight percent being spent by the United States during this time period. However, the most important of the American contributions were "self-help" measures for rebuilding the Japanese economy, ranging from loans and technical advice to sponsoring Japanese entry into international economic organizations.

Nevertheless, the spectacular growth rates achieved by Japan were firmly rooted in domestic developments. Indeed, from the very beginning of the Occupation, Japanese bureaucrats drew up plans for the nation's future that were far more ambitious than those of their American advisors. The United States proposed austerity measures and strict regulations to ensure a modest but stable position for Japan as the "workshop of Asia." Instead, Japanese bureaucrats pursued a more interventionist and dynamic program to bring Japan into the ranks of "first-class" industrial powers, promoting technologically sophisticated methods to produce quality goods sold around the world. To encourage corporations to follow government guidance, the Ministry of Finance and Ministry of International Trade and Industry offered protection from outside investment and competition, subsidized technology transfers, and the freedom to form cartels. While the 1950s and 1960s marked the height of bureaucratic influence on the business sector, the latter by no means always agreed with and followed the government's dictates. Perhaps the most famous, but not isolated, example is Sony Corporation's decision to invest in transistor technology against bureaucratic advice. Government planning was also imperfect, as shown by the failure of its attempts to develop the postwar coal industry.

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[8] For further details and analysis, see Laura Hein, "Growth versus Success: Japan's Economic Policy in Historical Perspective," in Gordon, pp. 99-122.

Finally, the contributions of ordinary Japanese to postwar economic growth were invaluable. Rising domestic demand provided a secure market for Japanese industrial production, and high savings rates provided a sizable pool of capital for corporate development. Moreover, economic nationalism inspired an intense work ethic, which translated into long working hours, frequent overtime, and few vacations. In this way, favorable international conditions, American assistance, government guidance, private initiative, and the pooled efforts of ordinary Japanese citizens together produced the "miracle" growth of the 1950s and 1960s.

Readjustments

This golden age of industrial expansion ended in the 1970s. Developments abroad slowed economic growth rates to three to five percent, while the environmental and personal costs of heavy industrialization became increasingly apparent to ordinary Japanese. As a result, the corporate sector restructured its use of human and material resources, while the bureaucracy and LDP responded to mounting public criticism by providing stricter controls for industrial pollution and a broader range of social security benefits.

To deal with growing trade imbalances, President Nixon imposed a surcharge on imports and took the dollar off the fixed international exchange rate in 1971. When it became clear that the United States had set off a chain reaction around the world, Japan reluctantly floated its national currency, which until then had been pegged at the grossly undervalued rate of 360 yen to 1 U.S. dollar. As feared, the value of the yen and the price of Japanese exports steadily rose. The "Oil Shock" of 1973, when the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) quadrupled crude oil prices, further deepened Japanese anxiety. Japan already relied on outside sources for 80 percent of its energy needs, a dependence expected to increase if industrial growth and mass consumption continued as they had over the past two decades. While the LDP sought to stimulate the domestic economy with government construction projects in the countryside, corruption scandals undermined its electoral base.

The private sector was more successful in its response to these crises, maintaining modest growth by streamlining operations and shifting from heavy industry to high technology and service enterprises. Corporations reduced their costs with "Just In Time" production and distribution methods, fuel efficiency in manufacturing processes became the highest in the world, and assembly lines became increasingly automated. While full-time corporate employees were protected from massive layoffs in this restructuring, growing corporate reliance on part-time and temporary workers gave companies leeway over the size and composition of their labor force.

Although Japanese unions generally cooperated with such corporate policies, ordinary Japanese began to reassess rapid economic growth in terms of its environmental and personal costs. Pollution produced along the industrial belt that stretched south from Tokyo along the Pacific coast could no longer be ignored. Poisonous chemicals were found in freshwater sources as well as fish caught off Japanese shores, while "white smog" blanketed metropolitan areas with growing frequency. Such threats to the quality of life sparked formation of numerous citizens groups, who made their complaints heard through petitions, demonstrations, and by support of non-LDP candidates in local elections. In the face of growing dissatisfaction with the way in which the government had been shielding industrial polluters, the Diet enacted a series of anti-pollution regulatory measures. To appear responsive to popular concerns, the government modified its position against the "right" of the public to comprehensive social welfare programs to increase pension benefits and upgrade its universal health care insurance program.

Although various signs in the early 1970s seemed to point to troubled times ahead, the end of the decade saw a resurgence of popular confidence in the stability of Japanese society.

Japanese exports were up, and the restructured industrial sector handled the second "Oil Shock" of 1979, when OPEC tripled the price of crude oil, with greater success than did the United States and other industrial countries. Strict governmental regulation of water and air quality resulted in dramatic improvements, while arbitration procedures were set in place to deal with a slowly declining number of public complaints regarding pollution.

Japan as Economic Superpower

While the economic and social readjustments of the 1970s promoted stability at home, they had the opposite effect on Japanese relations with the rest of the world. By decade's end, Japanese manufacturers of high-end goods, from audio equipment to automobiles, were seeking to maintain vigorous production levels by selling abroad. Despite the growing strength of the yen, a reputation for quality offset the higher prices for Japanese goods in the minds of many consumers around the world. Japanese commodities came to occupy a significant market share even in advanced industrial countries, and Japanese exports constituted about ten percent of the world's total by the mid-1980s. However, Japan's import rates did not climb at the same pace as its exports, giving rise to large trade imbalances. The United States demanded and eventually received voluntary export restrictions but had more difficulty in getting the Japanese government to open key sectors in the domestic market. Given the close relationship between Japan and the United States, it is perhaps not surprising that criticisms—sometimes verging on insults—flew briskly across the Pacific. Nerves were set even more on edge as the rising yen made overseas investments attractive to Japanese firms. Although a strong yen meant higher export prices, it also translated into relatively cheap fuel and raw materials. Rather than passing on these gains to consumers or employees, Japanese corporations used their profits to engage in further development and expansion. Building plants overseas allowed Japanese corporations to take advantage of lower labor costs in Southeast Asia and to get around tariff and other restrictive regulations in the United States and Europe. Real estate, stocks, and securities were also attractive investments. In fact, during the 1980s, Japan became the world's largest creditor nation, in part by purchasing a sizable share of the American government's rapidly expanding debt.

Easy credit and financial speculation also transformed Japan's domestic economy. Government attempts to stimulate the economy by lowering interest rates were a bit too successful in the 1980s: Japanese corporations put this easy money into various speculative ventures. Stock and real estate prices soared, further encouraging corporations to rely on financial speculation rather than on banks for raising funds. Banks, in turn, became indiscriminate in their lending practices. Money was available on easy terms not only to large corporations, but also to small firms, real estate enterprises, and companies with checkered credit histories. So long as prices continued to climb, almost every investment and loan brought handsome returns. However, the basic logic of what came to be known as the "Bubble Economy" assumed that such growth could continue indefinitely. As would become clear when the "bubble" burst in the early 1990s, lax financial regulations had in fact allowed banks and corporations to become seriously over-extended. Moreover, ordinary citizens by and large did not benefit from the bull market of the 1980s. Rising incomes were offset by the rising cost of living; the prices of consumer goods—both domestic products and imports—were considerably higher than elsewhere in the world. Meanwhile, real estate speculation contributed to a growing asset gap between those who owned land in metropolitan areas, particularly Tokyo, and those who did not. Overvaluation also made it difficult for many home and small shop owners in Tokyo to pass on their property to the next generation, due to steep inheritance taxes. Nevertheless, the LDP rode the 1980s economy to regain a secure majority at both national and prefectural levels.

Japan's undisputed status as an economic superpower in the 1980s also paved the way for changes in its role in international politics and security arrangements. The nation's success in weathering the challenges of the 1970s as well as its booming economy of the 1980s had given birth to a new self-confidence and assertiveness. In response to American criticisms that Japan had for too long enjoyed a "free ride" in terms of defense expenditures, the Japanese government began to adopt a more active stance toward the U.S.-Japan security alliance and increased the budget for the nation's Self-Defense Forces (SDF). LDP members also renewed proposals to amend the postwar constitution to eliminate Article 9 (i.e., the absolute rejection of the right to wage war). While these developments were welcomed by the United States, they met with a different reception among Japan's Asian neighbors, whose memories of Japanese wartime aggression lingered. To allay fears of a revival of Japanese militarism—voiced at home as well as abroad—the government continued to emphasize economic and cultural diplomacy over full-scale rearmament. Thus, the 1980s did not represent a complete break with the political and economic arrangements that had characterized Japan's place in the world order for much of the postwar era. However, significant changes were clearly underway.

The End of the Postwar Era

The end of the postwar era had been periodically proclaimed by the Japanese government from the early 1950s. The end of the American Occupation in 1952, recovery of prewar production levels in 1956, the glittering success of the Tokyo Olympics in 1964, and the return of Okinawa to Japanese rule in 1972—such milestones seemed to offer a chance to place the bitterness of the Pacific war and its complicated aftermath forever in the past. Yet the term "postwar" would not die. Conservative proposals to alter the postwar constitution met with public disapproval and opposition from the left. Meanwhile, despite revived economic, political, and cultural exchange with continental and Southeast Asia, Japanese government and business continued to give priority to relations with the United States.

In 1989, however, the postwar period finally came to a close for many Japanese. Cold War tensions, which for decades had served as the basis for the U.S.-Japan security alliance, dissipated with the breakup of the Soviet Union and the symbolic tearing down of the Berlin Wall but the death of Emperor Hirohito provided a more immediate sense of closure within Japan. The national storyline of war, defeat, recovery, and growth in the latter half of the 20th century was intertwined with the man whose reign had encompassed each of these phases. Thus, the long illness and final passing of the emperor provided a moment to reflect upon Japan's recent past. For the government, the unprecedented attendance of leaders of 160 nations at the imperial funeral seemed to confirm that, under its guidance, the New Japan had come of age. In contrast, critics suggested that the time was right to come to terms with Japanese wartime aggression and dismantle the imperial institution under which it took place. The response of the general population was more mixed. When it became clear that the emperor would not recover from his cancer, many school festivals and other celebratory events were canceled, and long lines of well-wishers formed in front of the imperial palace. Yet, on the days immediately following the emperor's death, when both public and private television channels were awash with memorials to the man and the era, public indifference to the imperial myth could be read from the record-breaking number of video rentals. Perhaps, more than anything else, the fact that the original issues that had given structure and force to the story of postwar Japan were no longer of immediate significance to the general population truly marked the end of the postwar era.

1

Japan 1945-1989: Framing the Period

Introduction: When Japanese people refer to the "postwar," what time period are they talking about? While 1945 is accepted as the beginning of the period, there are many different perspectives concerning its "end." Some consider the postwar to have concluded with the end of the American Occupation in 1951. In 1956, the Japanese government issued a "white paper" declaring the postwar over because economic production had surpassed prewar levels, signaling a "recovered" economy. Others mark the end of the postwar with Japan's hosting the international community for the 1964 Summer Olympics in Tokyo, a rebuilt, modern, and model city. Many also heralded 1972 as the end of the postwar because the year marked the return of Okinawa to Japan and thus the end of foreign occupation of Japanese soil. Despite these significant events and declarations, most Japanese still continued to reference time as "postwar" through the 1980s.

This unit considers *sengo*, Japan's postwar period, as 1945-1989, framed at the outset by watershed announcements from Emperor Hirohito signaling the end of the war and his own role as a sacred leader and at its conclusion by the death of that emperor. While any periodization is arbitrary, these events provide defensible and easily understood "bookends" for the period.

To begin to frame this period, students examine the impact of the emperor's surrender speech on August 14, 1945. Why look at the human reaction to this speech rather than other momentous events? This unit explores the postwar period not just as an economic or political period, but also as a mosaic of social and cultural experiences for Japanese people that involved the re-creating of institutions and national identity. For generations, the emperor was at the core of what it meant to be Japanese. For Japanese people, the emperor's radio announcement ending the war went to the heart of who they were as a people and a nation.

Similarly, the death of Emperor Hirohito 44 years later provided a break with the past. Through the thread of their emperor's life, Japanese people reflected on their 20th-century history, the war he had led them into, and the postwar metamorphosis over which he had symbolically presided. Hirohito's death at a time when Japan was assuming unparalleled global economic power was seen in many circles as a fitting end to the postwar experience and the beginning of a new era, as it was the beginning of a new imperial reign.

In this lesson, students look at primary sources to consider 1945 to 1989 as a distinct period in modern Japanese history. They examine events in 1945 and 1989 that frame and tie the period together from the perspective of national and cultural identity and national history.

Objectives: At the conclusion of this lesson, students will be able to:

1. Analyze and discuss a variety of primary source materials as historical texts.
2. Hypothesize about goals that the Japanese government and groups within Japan's economy set to bring Japan out of wartime conditions.
3. Identify challenges that average Japanese faced in the immediate postwar period.
4. Describe changes and achievements that Japan experienced between 1945 and 1989.
5. Consider the role of the emperor as a national symbol in Japan's postwar period.

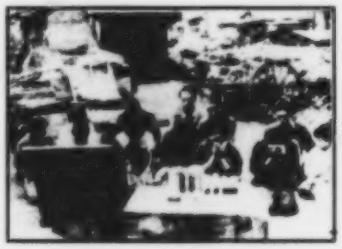
Materials: Transparencies 1A and 1B (on unit CD-ROM); computer and projector; Handouts 1A through 1C for all students; optional: *MacArthur's Children* video (available at many video stores or public libraries) and VCR

Time Required: 1-2 class periods plus homework

Procedure:

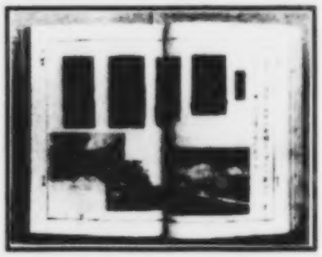
Part I: Beginning of the Postwar: Japan, 1945

Note: If you have access to the film *MacArthur's Children*, you may wish to use it in steps 1 and 3 of the **Procedure**. See the **Recommended Films** section for more information.



1. Show Transparency 1A, a photo of Japanese listening to the emperor's surrender speech. Explain that, since the late 1800s, the Japanese government had taught the Japanese population that the emperor was a living god. Japanese subjects could not look directly at the emperor; no average Japanese had heard him speak. Thus, this surrender announcement was the first time Japanese people had ever heard the voice of their leader. Ask: For a Japanese subject in 1945, what would have been the impact of hearing the emperor on the radio? What was the significance of his announcement? *Students should recognize that the emperor's announcement signified a momentous event—the failure and end of a huge and devastating war effort and of the Japanese empire. On another level, his public announcement was the symbolic end of a national identity based on rule by a remote and sacred leader.*

2. Point out that, according to many personal accounts, the emperor's surrender speech changed the world for his subjects and nation. Things that had defined Japanese national identity were gone—the Japanese empire, the war effort, an infallible emperor. For Japanese old enough to have lived through the war and to remember the emperor's surrender speech—as well as for many historians studying Japan—the emperor's surrender constitutes a break in historical time—that is, a moment when time seems to be reconceptualized, to begin again under new circumstances. Ask students to think of similar breaks in time for Americans in recent history—Pearl Harbor, the end of WWII, President Kennedy's assassination, Martin Luther King's assassination, the destruction of the Berlin Wall, the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001.



3. Show Transparency 1B and ask students to speculate on what is shown. Allow time for student responses. Then explain that the Occupation forces required all references to a sacred emperor or the Japanese war effort to be removed from school texts. Teachers led their classes in blacking out passages from texts until new texts could be published. Ask students to consider this censorship as further evidence that the end of the war was a break in Japan's history. What was the implication of removing portions of history or civics texts in this way? What would have been the impact on Japanese students? How does this act create a symbolic and/or literal break with the past? What message would this kind of textbook censorship have sent about the war? *Censoring the textbooks was an effort to erase Japanese understanding of the war; it sent a message that the war was no longer valid, rejecting a recent past Japanese people had just lived*

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through. This break with the past by defeat, surrender, and occupation provided both the necessity and the opportunity to create a new nation and a new historical story.

4. Distribute Handout 1A to all students. This handout contains five documents: the text of Hirohito's surrender speech, two Japanese citizens' memories of the day Japan surrendered, the text of Emperor Hirohito's address to the nation on January 1, 1946, and photos of surrender aboard the USS *Missouri* and of urban destruction in Japan, 1945. Students should also draw on the photographs in Transparencies 1A and 1B.

Organize students into groups, assigning each group to analyze the documents to answer the questions provided at the beginning of the handout.

5. Discuss students' analysis in class. *Students may list characteristics similar to the following: defeated, destroyed, humiliated, disgraced, poverty-stricken, hungry, discouraged, lacking resources, controlled/occupied, without leaders, homeless, orphaned, confused.*

6. As a class, consider the following question: Based on the resources you have analyzed, what goals do you think the Japanese people and government set for themselves as a nation and a people in 1945? *Students should be able to identify a number of goals, such as: (a) For the nation—rebuilding the economy; reconstruction of cities; developing peacetime industry; reconstruction of buildings and homes; rebuilding roads, infrastructure, and trains; agricultural recovery; end of military government; governmental reform; regain trust of world, and (b) For individuals—finding food and shelter; feeding and protecting families; finding work.*

7. (Optional) Distribute Handout 1B or project the copy provided on the unit CD-ROM. The handout provides some statistics on the situation in Japan at the end of World War II. Discuss these statistics and what they imply about the state of Japan at the end of the war. Can students add any other goals for rebuilding the nation after 1945 based on these statistics?

Part II: The End of the Postwar: Hirohito's Funeral, 1989

1. Distribute Handout 1C and focus student attention on the first page, which shows headlines from around the world that appeared following Emperor Hirohito's death. Ask students to speculate on the significance of the headlines and the event. (***Note:*** The four pages of the handout are also provided on the unit CD-ROM should you choose to project them to the class.)

2. Explain that for many observers—historians, economists, political analysts, media around the world, and average Japanese citizens—the period of Japan's war recovery and its re-creation as a modern nation that began with the emperor's surrender speech ended with his death and the end of his imperial reign, Showa, in 1989. Because Emperor Hirohito was the leader who took Japan into war, his death created another break in time—a time for Japanese individuals, government, and the nation to reflect on the war, where Japan had been, where it had arrived, and where it should go in the future.

3. Have students examine the photos and captions in Handout 1C. As a class, working in small groups, or for individual homework, have students address the organizing question: What did it mean to be Japanese in 1989, as reflected in these photos? How did Japanese see themselves and their nation at the end of Hirohito's reign? What was the state of the Japanese economy, society, government? The standard of living?

The Japan of 1989 was very different from that of 1945. In 1945, Japan was an outcast from the global community; in 1989, state dignitaries from all over the world came to Japan to participate in the state funeral of the man who had ruled Japan through the war. Humiliated in defeat and in economic ruin in 1945, the Japan of 1989 was perceived as a global economic superpower, boasting economic strength and national confidence. Tokyo, site of the funeral, was one of the world's biggest and most modern cities, a generator of international consumer trends and styles. The nation's "defense" budget was second only to that of the United States.

Recommended Films: *MacArthur's Children* is a 1984 Japanese feature film directed by Shinoda Masahiro and based on his childhood memories (and a story by Yu Aku). It is available in many larger video stores. If it is available, you can begin the lesson by showing the film's initial 53 seconds, in which children are seen standing on a playground listening to the emperor's surrender speech while their teacher cries. Ask: What do you feel watching this clip? What is the mood of the students in the film? *Disbelief, confusion.* Why do you think the teacher is crying? *Sorrow, devastation, confusion, mourning, humiliation for her country.*

To introduce textbook censorship, show the scene 2 minutes 56 seconds into the film, in which students are blacking out textbooks and conduct the discussion as described in step 3 of the **Procedure**.

If time permits, the entire film can provide many insights into the Occupation experience. *MacArthur's Children* offers a bittersweet look back to the end of the war and the beginning of the Occupation. The film is presented largely through the eyes of two fifth-graders who have lost their parents in the war. The two boys and a young girl, whose father is a naval officer charged with war crimes, represent, along with their youthful teacher and her returning soldier husband, the younger generation of Japanese. They are "MacArthur's Children," the children of the Occupation who had to accept Japan's defeat and adjust to political, social, economic, and cultural changes of postwar Japan. They are also the ones who, while embracing the conqueror's culture, had to struggle with every step not to lose entirely their Japanese identity and spirit. Identifying and empathizing with the three children allows the audience to share some of their experiences and the changes the Occupation brings to their lives. Students then can be asked to list and discuss not only some of the regulations and goals of the Occupation but also the postwar problems of the society and the changes, both good and bad, occurring.

For younger students, teachers may wish to edit two instances of crude language and a discreetly handled rape scene.

1945-1946 Document Set

This handout contains documents from the time of Japan's surrender on August 14, 1945, to early 1946. As a group, examine all of the documents in this research packet to answer the following questions:

1. From documentary evidence, how do you think the Japanese people saw themselves at the end of the war? How do you think Japanese people would have described themselves and their country?

2. What physical, social, and economic conditions defined the Japanese as a people and Japan as a nation at this time?

3. How do you think the Japanese saw their country in relation to the rest of the world?

Document 1: Surrender Speech by Japanese Emperor Hirohito
August 14, 1945

Radio broadcast, Tokyo, Japan. Transmitted by Domei and recorded by the Federal Communications Commission, August 14, 1945.

To our good and loyal subjects: After pondering deeply the general trends of the world and the actual conditions obtaining in our empire today, we have decided to effect a settlement of the present situation by resorting to an extraordinary measure.

We have ordered our Government to communicate to the Governments of the United States, Great Britain, China and the Soviet Union that our empire accepts the provisions of their joint declaration.

To strive for the common prosperity and happiness of all nations as well as the security and well-being of our subjects is the solemn obligation which has been handed down by our imperial ancestors and which we lay close to the heart.

Indeed, we declared war on America and Britain out of our sincere desire to insure Japan's self-preservation and the stabilization of East Asia, it being far from our thought either to infringe upon the sovereignty of other nations or to embark upon territorial aggrandizement. But now the war has lasted for nearly four years. Despite the best that has been done by everyone—the gallant fighting of the military and naval forces, the diligence and assiduity of our servants of the State and the devoted service of our 100,000,000 people—the war situation has developed not necessarily to Japan's advantage, while the general trends of the world have all turned against her interest.

Moreover, the enemy has begun to employ a new and most cruel bomb, the power of which to do damage is, indeed, incalculable, taking the toll of many innocent lives. Should we continue to fight, it would not only result in an ultimate collapse and obliteration of the Japanese nation, but also it would lead to the total extinction of human civilization.

Such being the case, how are we to save the millions of our subjects, or to atone ourselves before the hallowed spirits of our imperial ancestors? This is the reason why we have ordered the acceptance of the provisions of the joint declaration of the powers.

We cannot but express the deepest sense of regret to our allied nations of East Asia, who have consistently cooperated with the Empire toward the emancipation of East Asia.

The thought of those officers and men as well as others who have fallen in the fields of battle, those who died at their posts of duty, or those who met with death [otherwise] and all their bereaved families, pains our heart night and day.

The welfare of the wounded and the war sufferers and of those who have lost their homes and livelihood is the object of our profound solicitude. The hardships and sufferings to which our nation is to be subjected hereafter will be certainly great.

We are keenly aware of the inmost feelings of all of you, our subjects. However, it is according to the dictates of time and fate that we have resolved to pave the way for a grand peace for all the generations to come by enduring the [unavoidable] and suffering what is insufferable.

Having been able to save and maintain the structure of the Imperial State, we are always with you, our good and loyal subjects, relying upon your sincerity and integrity.

Beware most strictly of any outbursts of emotion that may engender needless complications, of any fraternal contention and strife that may create confusion, lead you astray and cause you to lose the confidence of the world.

Let the entire nation continue as one family from generation to generation, ever firm in its faith of the imperishableness of its divine land, and mindful of its heavy burden of responsibilities, and the long road before it. Unite your total strength to be devoted to the construction for the future. Cultivate the ways of rectitude, nobility of spirit, and work with resolution so that you may enhance the innate glory of the Imperial State and keep pace with the progress of the world.

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Document 2: Two Japanese Citizens' Memories of the Day Japan Surrendered

The Face of the Enemy
by Sasaki Naokata

He was evacuated with his Tokyo elementary-school class to Miyagi prefecture on September 2, 1944. They were staying in a small-town inn on August 15, 1945, when the war officially ended. "Many of my classmates had lost their parents. Seven of them had lost one parent, nine had lost both. Ten had had their entire families annihilated, leaving them utterly alone. This out of my eighty-five classmates in my sixth-grade class from that one Asakusa school."

The day the war ended we still did our usual morning calisthenics. You stripped to the waist, even in the middle of winter—girls, too—and shouted rhythmically in time to the exercises, "Annihilate America and England! One-Two-Three-Four! Annihilate America and England! One-Two-Three-Four!" This was at six in the morning in the inn yard close by a pond that still had carp swimming in it. We had no doubt that Japan's actions were just. We were convinced that the Americans and the British were demons. Not human beings.

We then went for our morning meal in the dining hall on the first floor of the inn and together we recited: "The blessings of the Imperial Reign on Heaven and Earth. Taste the beneficence of Parents and Supremacy." I don't even understand today what that means exactly, but maybe the "supremacy" refers to the Emperor. Then we quickly ate. The amount of food in front of us was so small we finished immediately. We were always hungry. We'd pour hot water into our bowls and gulp it down just to fill our stomachs.

That day we went to work in the mountainside pumpkin garden we had pioneered, carving it out of the woods ourselves, then back to the inn to listen to a special talk given by the Emperor. But the receiver was in such a terrible condition and the Emperor's words were so difficult we didn't understand a thing. Even our teachers didn't understand. We only learned what it meant the next day, or maybe even the day after. The thought that Japan would lose hadn't been in our thoughts. We continued to chant "Annihilate America and England! One-Two-Three-Four!" in our morning calisthenics for two more days. Finally, our teachers told us, "The war has ended." They never said, "Japan lost," just that we could go back home. That was good.

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Imperial Gifts for the War Dead
by Kawashima Eiko

She is the thirty-fourth in the line of masters of Shioze, a shop famed for the sweet bean-filled cakes called manju. *Their confections have been enjoyed by the Court, military rulers of Japan, masters of tea ceremony, and connoisseurs of sweets since the founder of the line arrived from China in 1349 and adapted Chinese cakes to Japanese tastes. At sixty-eight, she is the picture of the efficient businesswoman.*

My father used to say, "His Imperial Highness the Emperor Meiji loved sweets. He ate our sweet jellied bean *yokan* whenever he drank sake." Her Imperial Highness, the Empress Dowager Shoken, treated my father with favor and called him by the name of our shop, Shioze. As a child, father even played with Crown Prince Hirohito and his brothers Prince Mikasa and Prince Chichibu. Father never thought making confections for the Imperial Household was "business." We couldn't provide them free-of-charge, of course, but we made them at cost.

Early in the war, our business with the military was enormous, with large orders for events like the Imperial Military Grand Review, regimental parades, and anniversaries. Our specialty was *manju*, but as the war grew more severe, we found it increasingly difficult to obtain raw materials, particularly enough Yamato taro for the flour. Sugar, too, was rationed. Things we'd been creating for generations—for six hundred forty years—were now hard to make.

In the end, our business was reduced to just ten employees making two things, bread for schools and *Go-monka*. This last confection, a molded cake bearing the Imperial crest, was given to bereaved families in the name of Her Imperial Highness, the Empress, to be offered to the spirits of the war dead. . . .

The day the war ended, I listened to the Emperor's broadcast right here. We all cried. I was still a young woman. I was sad, but at the same time I felt a sense of relief. I feel rather guilty saying that even today, but the air raids were so frightening to me. There was my father next to me, though, sobbing loudly. Meiji, Taisho, Showa—all the emperors he had served! It must have been awfully difficult for him.

Soon, the Imperial Household sent a truck around. They wanted to recover all the supplies stored with us. They said they needed to raise money so His Majesty could tour the country, and so they could pay retirement benefits to former Imperial Household employees. My father gave them back everything. *Everything*. He didn't reserve a single bag of flour for himself. He even returned the wooden molds, saying "Please use these for the expenses of His Imperial Highness." I remember even now the moment those trucks left. My father, standing in the entrance hall, tears rolling down his cheeks. How can I forget that? He just murmured, "My service is over."

Source: Copyright © 1992 *Japan at War: An Oral History* by Haruko Taya Cook and Theodore F. Cook. (New York: The New Press, 1992), pp. 468-471. Reprinted by permission of The New Press.

Document 3: Emperor Hirohito's Address to the Nation
January 1, 1946

Today we greet the New Year. My thought goes back to the beginning of the Meiji Era when Emperor Meiji proclaimed the Five Clauses of the Charter Oath as the basis of our national policy. It reads:

1. Deliberative assemblies on a wide scope shall be convened, and all matters of government decided by public opinion.
2. Both the high and the low shall, with a unity of purpose, vigorously engage in the conduct of public affairs.
3. All the common people, no less than the servants of state, civil and military, shall be enabled to fulfill each his just aspirations, lest discontent should infect their minds.
4. All the evil practices of the past shall be eliminated, and the nation shall abide by the universal rules of justice and equity.
5. Wisdom and knowledge shall be sought throughout the world to promote the prosperity of the Empire.

What more need be added to these open and lofty precepts? By reaffirming the Oath, I desire to direct the future course of our national fortunes. It is my wish that on the lines so indicated, old abuses shall be discarded, full play be allowed to popular will, all officials and people be whole-heartedly given to the pursuit of peace, and enriched culture and learning be attained, and the standards of living of the people be elevated. Thus shall a new Japan be constructed.

Devastations wrought by the war upon our cities and towns, the miseries of its victims, the stagnation of industries, the shortages of food, and the great and growing numbers of the unemployed are sorely heart-rending. But as long as the nation faces indomitably the present ordeal, remains firm in its determination to seek civilization consistently in peace, and preserves the perfect accord to the end, there is no doubt but that a glorious prospect will be revealed not only for our country but for the whole humanity.

Love of the family and love of the country are particularly strong in our land. With no less devotion should we extend this spirit, and dedicate ourselves to the love of mankind.

The protracted war having ended in defeat, our people are liable to become restive or to fall into utter despondency. The extremist tendencies appear to be gradually spreading, and the sense of morality is markedly losing its hold on the people. In effect, there are signs of confusion of thought, and the existing situation causes me deep concern.

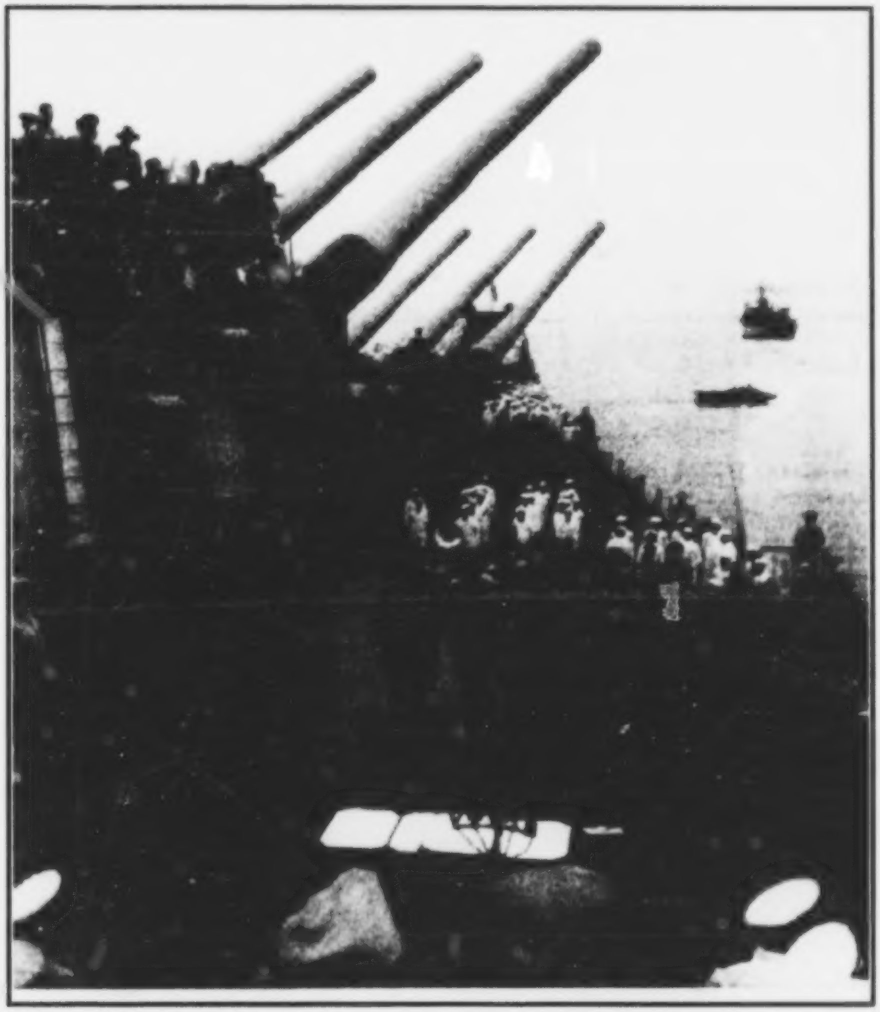
Source: U.S. Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1946*, vol. 8 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1946), pp. 134-135.

I stand by my people. I am ever ready to share in their joys and sorrows. The ties between me and my people have always been formed by mutual trust and affection. They do not depend upon mere legends or myths. Nor are they predicated on the false conception that the Emperor is divine, and that the Japanese are superior to other races and destined to rule the world.

My government will leave no stone unturned to alleviate the trials and tribulations of the people. At the same time, I trust that my people will rise to the occasion, and strive courageously for the development of industry and culture as well as for the solution of their more immediate problems. If in their civic life my people maintain solidarity, practice mutual aid and assistance and foster the spirit of broad tolerance, they will prove themselves worthy of their best traditions. In this manner, our nation will undoubtedly render a signal contribution toward the welfare and advancement of mankind.

The planning for the year is made at its commencement. I confidently hope that my beloved people will unite with me in my present resolve, and that they will dauntlessly and unflinchingly march onward for the accomplishment of the great undertaking which now confronts the nation.

Document 4: Japanese Surrender Aboard USS *Missouri*

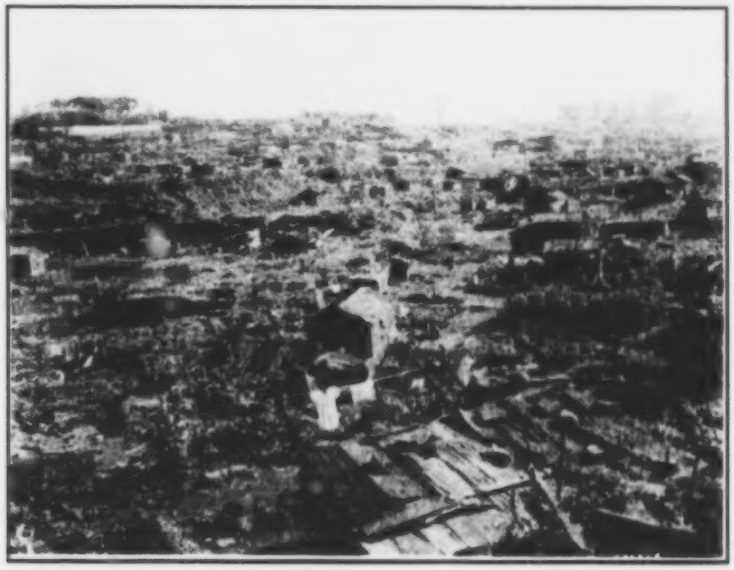


According to historian John W. Dower, "the enormity of the defeat did not really sink in until the formal surrender ceremony on the USS *Missouri* on September 2, 1945. . . ."[1] How does this photo visually reflect "the enormity of defeat" that Dower talks about?

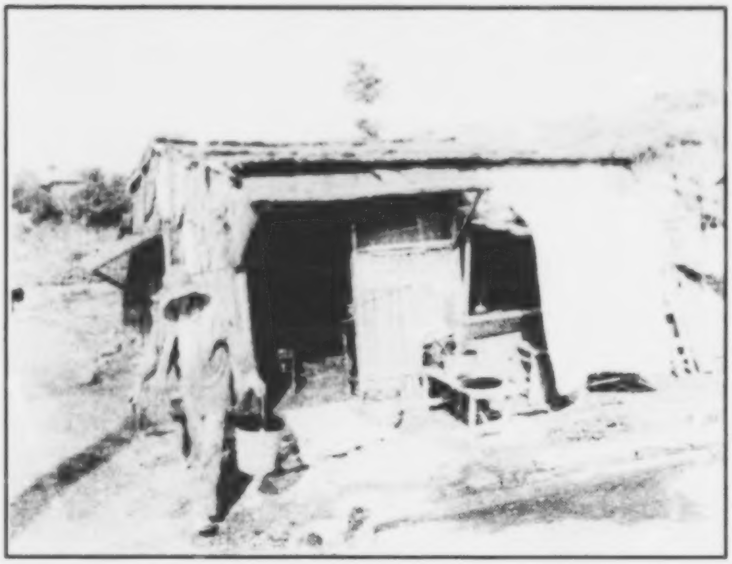
Source: National Archives and Records Administration.

[1] John W. Dower, *Embracing Defeat* (New York: W.W. Norton/The New Press, 1999), p. 42.

Document 5: Urban Destruction in Japan, 1945



The first victors to enter defeated Japan were stunned by the extent of urban destruction they confronted. This aerial view takes in downtown Tokyo by the Sumida River.



For years after the defeat, many city dwellers continued to eke out a precarious existence in shantytowns such as this.

Source: National Archives and Records Administration.

Japan, 1945

- Tokyo's population went from 7 million in 1940 to fewer than 3 million in 1945, due to deaths from U.S. air raids and mass exodus from the city.

- The Japanese referred to their cities as *yaki-nohara*—burned plains. Smaller cities were virtually destroyed and larger cities were heavily damaged by Allied air attacks:

    - 58 percent of Yokohama was destroyed.
    - 56 percent of Kobe was destroyed.
    - 40 percent of Tokyo was destroyed.
    - 35 percent of Osaka was destroyed.

- Sixty percent of factories were destroyed.

- Four million homes were lost. In urban areas damaged by air raids, people created shelters in subway tunnels and burned-out trolleys and buses.

Source: Gary Allinson, *Japan's Postwar History* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997), pp. 45-51.

1989 Document Set

Document 1: Headlines Around the World: January 1989

Japan mourns Hirohito

—*USA Today*

Hirohito, Emperor of Japan, Dies

—*The Washington Post*

Japan mourns the death of its Emperor

—*The Times of London*

Hirohito, 124th Emperor of Japan, Dead at 87

—*The New York Times*

L'empereur du Japon est mort

—*Le Figaro*

Den titel "Kaiserlicher Sohn des Himmels" mußte Hirohito nach dem Ende des Zweiten Weltkrieges aufgeben

—*Frankfurter Allgemeine*

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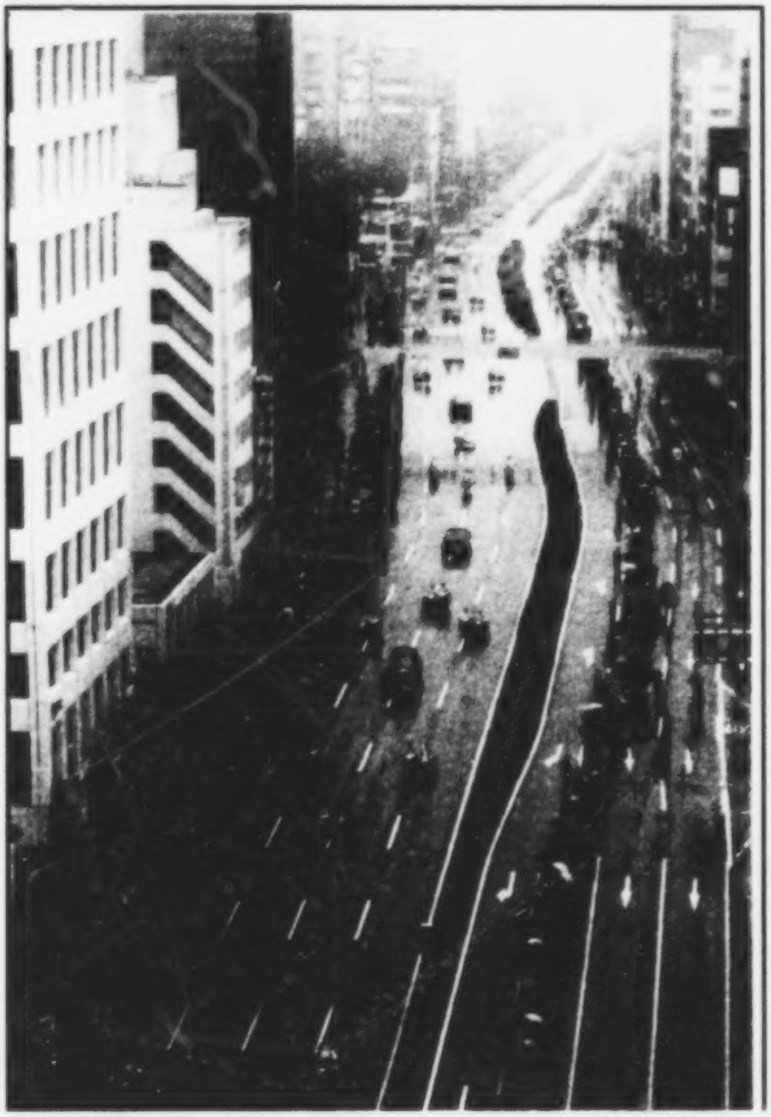
Document 2: The Emperor's Funeral Procession

This photo and the one that follows were taken from a Japanese souvenir booklet about the Hirohito funeral. The audience for this booklet was Japanese citizens. The captions and text have been translated only for this activity.



The motorcade travels Aoyama-dori (road). Sixty-one cars. The length extended approximately 800 meters. Photo taken from roof of North Aoyama Bell-Commons. Approximately 9:58 a.m.

Source: *Mainichi Daily News.* Used by permission. Translations by Janet Hoaglund.

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Document 3: President and Mrs. Bush Arrive in Japan

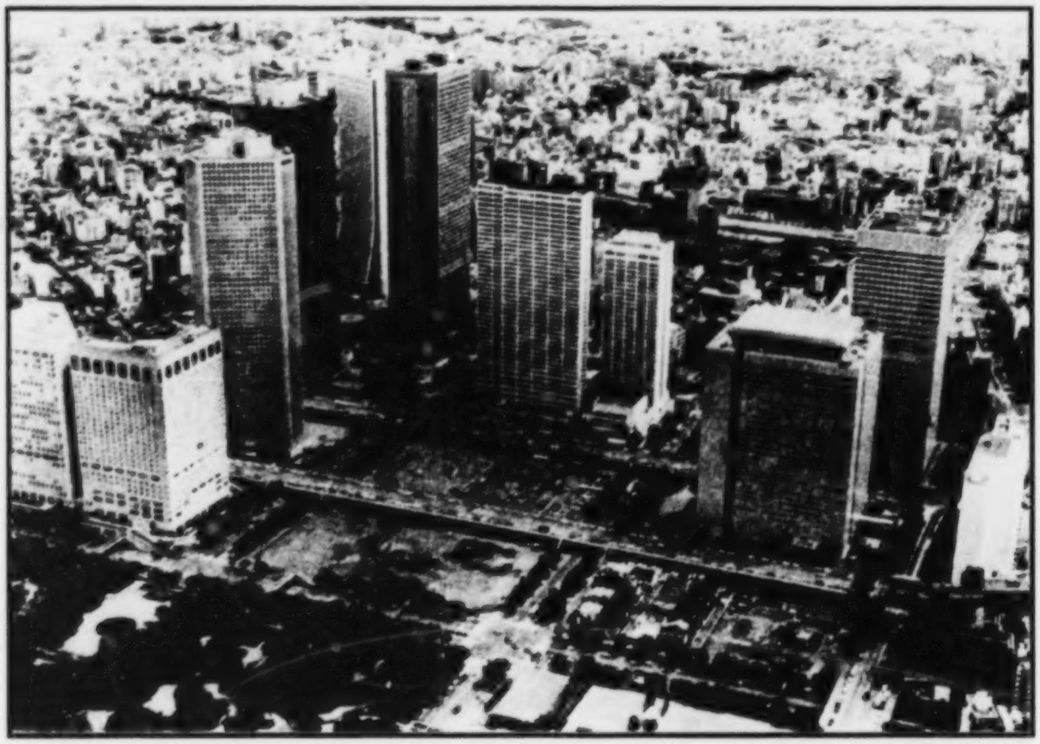
Feb. 23, shortly after 1 p.m. President Bush arrives on presidential plane and meets with Japan's leaders the same day. A second plane and a jumbo plane with accompanying journalists also arrive. On the right is Mrs. Bush.

163 countries sent envoys in "courtesy of imperial mourning," making this the largest gathering of foreign dignitaries to pay respects at a funeral. This included U.S. President Bush, France's President Mitterrand, Jordan's King Hussein Ibn Talal, Egypt's President Mohamed Hosni Mubarak, the United Kingdom's Duke of Edinburgh, and the Kings of Belgium and Spain.

Heads of state and royalty from all over the world began arriving on February 19th. Before and after the funeral ceremonies, Tokyo was the stage for lively "diplomacy of imperial mourning."

Source: *Mainichi Daily News*. Used by permission. Translations by Janet Hoaglund.

Document 4: The Tokyo Skyline in the Late 1980s



Source: Used by permission of the Asahi Shimbun Company.

2

Voices of the Occupation

Introduction: On August 15, 1945, Emperor Hirohito made his historic speech to his subjects; speaking to them directly for the first time over radio, he announced Japan's surrender to the Allied powers. Two weeks later, American forces began to arrive in Japan. On September 2, 1945, the official surrender ceremony took place on the American battleship USS *Missouri* in Tokyo Bay. The long and bitter Pacific War was finally over, and the postwar period had begun.

But what was next? For the Allies, it was the occupation of Japan. President Truman appointed General Douglas MacArthur as Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers for the Occupation and Control of Japan (SCAP). (The acronym SCAP is also used to refer to the entire military bureaucracy in Japan.) Although the Occupation was, in theory, an Allied effort, in reality the Americans were in control. For seven years, SCAP, with MacArthur as its leader, guided virtually all of Japan's major political decisions. For Japanese people, the next steps were less clear. Japan and its people had been engaged in military conflict in Asia for many years, and the chaos and hardship did not end with surrender. In the immediate post-surrender years, huge numbers of Japanese people struggled daily with challenges of survival: food, housing, and employment.

In this lesson, students examine the first and most challenging years of the postwar and the Occupation from multiple and cross-national perspectives. They first analyze a U.S. primary source to learn how American occupiers perceived the goals and strategies of the Occupation. They then read Nagai Kafu's short story "The Scavengers" to consider the early years of the Occupation as experienced by some Japanese people. Written in the first years of the Occupation, the story depicts the pressing concerns and issues of ordinary Japanese, as expressed by one author. Small groups then consider a variety of forms of expression—including photographs, literature, and art—as historical texts that, taken together, can be used to construct a social narrative of the period. To culminate the lesson, students draw upon their learning to analyze a Japanese social studies textbook's treatment of the Occupation; they then add their own interpretation of the social history of the Occupation.

Objectives: At the conclusion of this lesson, students will be able to:

1. Analyze historical documents for purpose, audience, style, tone, and perspective.
2. Identify the initial goals and priorities established by the American Occupation authorities in Japan during the first weeks of the Occupation.
3. Analyze a variety of primary sources to construct a narrative of the early Occupation "through Japanese eyes."
4. Recognize "the Japanese" as a diverse society with differing needs, concerns, and experiences of the Occupation and the initial rebuilding of Japan.
5. Describe the Occupation as both a U.S. policy and a Japanese experience.

Materials: Handouts 2A, 2B, 2D, and 2E for all students; sections of Handout 2C for pairs or triads of students

Time Required: 3 class periods plus homework

Procedure:

Part I: The Occupation from the Top Down: The Occupiers

1. Ask students to consider what they know about the end of World War II—specifically the war in the Pacific—from previous study, as well as from Lesson 1 of this unit. Ask students to recollect the images they examined in Lesson 1 of the signing of the surrender documents and the emperor's announcement of the surrender. On the chalkboard or an overhead, write *Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP)* and *Japan*. Have students volunteer their opinions on the most urgent concerns of the American forces as they took control of Japan; then do the same for Japan. Ask students if the Japanese government was the only key player—the only group affected—by the end of the war and the Occupation. Remind students that in Japan the Occupa-tion affected everyone and that, in creating the class list, they should consider the Japanese government and its people—as individuals, families, workers, and so on.

2. Distribute Handout 2A, explaining that this Initial Post-Surrender Policy of the U.S. government was an introductory statement of Occupation policy issued soon after the Japanese surrender. You may assign students to read the entire document and answer the study guide questions, or divide the reading into two components, with half of the class reading and reporting on each piece. If the reading is divided, all students should read "Purpose of This Document" and "Part I—Ultimate Objective." Then, half of the class can be responsible for "Part II—Allied Authority" and "Part III—Political," while the other half takes responsibility for "Part IV—Economic." Allow time for students to complete the reading individually.

3. Conduct a classwide discussion of student findings. Ask: What issues and concerns were expressed by the Americans in the Initial Post-Surrender Policy? *Students should identify that the United States set as goals the* demilitarization *and* democratization *of Japan as essential measures to ensure that Japan could no longer pose a threat to regional or international peace.*

According to the document, what immediate actions did the United States take to achieve these goals? *Military occupation; limiting the power of the emperor and the government; educating the Japanese about the American form of democracy; immediately granting Japanese people freedoms such as religious freedom; and dismantling the military, political, and economic systems, which SCAP identified as responsible for Japan's wartime aggressions.*

4. As a class, analyze the purpose and tone of this document. For whom was it written—the Japanese government, Japanese people, American people, the U.S. government, or others? What are the style and tone of the document? Ask students to consider how the writers of the document perceived Japan—did they see Japan as a single entity, as a government, or as people? Did they see Japan as a hostile force, as a defeated nation, or as a project? *It is important that students recognize that, as an official government policy statement, this document's style and tone are intentionally concise, unemotional, businesslike, and dry. The Occupation forces are setting goals for reconstructing a government and society, not focusing on individuals and groups.*

Part II: The Occupation on the Ground: Experiences of the Occupied

1. Ask students to consider the strengths and weaknesses of relying on government documents such as the Initial Post-Surrender Policy to gain understanding of the Occupation period. *Such documents give little or no insight into Japanese experiences of the Occupation.* Ask students where they would begin to look for information on the Occupation as a Japanese experience—that is, a period of time as it was lived by the people who were the recipients and subjects of all the reform policies. Generate a list of possible sources on the chalkboard; then ask students

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to categorize each source as a political history, economic history, or social history source. Certainly, any source might fit into more than one category.

2. Ask students to recall the images of the immediate postwar destruction of Japan or display these images again (see Lesson 1). Generate responses as to what students think the issues, concerns, and goals of ordinary Japanese people were in the first few years of the Occupation. Record responses on the board or overhead.

3. How powerful are photos and visual images in creating a picture or story about an event or time period, particularly this one? How do the images the photos present differ from the story told by the Initial Post-Surrender Policy? How do photos change your impression of the first years of the Occupation? Ask students to consider what other kinds of resources would provide information about this period as a human experience, and as a uniquely Japanese experience. Explain that, while this lesson focuses on varied Japanese experiences of the Occupation, it also looks at alternative historical texts—that is, on how literature, art, journals, letters, and so on provide information that contributes to our understanding of a historical period.

4. For homework, assign Handout 2B, Nagai Kafu's short story "The Scavengers." Distribute a copy of the handout, which includes the reading and study questions, to each student.

5. To follow up on the homework, conduct a Socratic seminar in class the following day. Refer to the guidelines for conducting a Socratic seminar in the **Background Notes**. Socratic seminars are collective explorations of a chosen text; participants are called upon to examine the ideas, issues, and values found in the text. The conversation is "Socratic" in that the leader, often the teacher, begins and guides the conversation through critical questioning. The questions in Handout 2B can be used to guide the seminar. The Socratic seminar may help students to see the story as history as well as literature and to examine it in more detail as a historical document.

Ask students to consider this short story as a historical document or "text." How does reading this Nagai Kafu short story contribute to a narrative of the early years of the Occupation from Japanese perspectives? How many different perspectives are presented through the characters? Do the Japanese characters appear as passive recipients of postwar reconstruction or as players in that reconstruction? As you conduct the seminar, continually ask students to refer to places in the text that support their observations or opinions; build upon student comments with follow-up questions.

Students should gain insight into the harsh realities of everyday life in the immediate postwar years, the gap between the concerns for survival of ordinary people and the governmental restructuring of the Occupation forces, and the varied responses to defeat, starvation, and survival that made up the lives of ordinary people. The story provides Japanese faces to the Occupation, which the government document does not do—and was not intended to do.

6. Organize the students into eight pairs or triads and inform them that each pair/triad will be focusing on a different "slice" of Japanese experience during the early Occupation years. Each group will identify issues and problems facing the Japanese population and how they dealt with those problems. Give each pair of students a section of Handout 2C, the "Experiences of Occupa-tion Document Set." (There are eight sections in the document set, labeled Handout 2C, Sections 1-8.) Also provide each pair of students with a copy of Handout 2D, a study and discussion guide for examining the documents. Provide time for pairs/triads to read and discuss the sources.

7. After students have had sufficient time to examine and discuss their documents, form two or three groups (depending on whether you used pairs or triads), with members of each pair or triad going to different groups. Explain that, in the larger groups, each student will represent the Japanese people and experiences that he or she read about in pairs/triads. Each student should be prepared to answer the following questions:

- What is your experience of the Occupation?
- Are you optimistic or pessimistic and why?
- What do you see as the problems?
- Who are the problem solvers for you?

As students in the groups report out, instruct each group to make a chart or poster identifying the Japanese stakeholders in the Occupation and how it affected them.

8. You may want to conduct a brief whole-class discussion to ensure that key points are made. For this discussion, you may make overheads of the visuals for viewing. Encourage students to cite particular images or passages that shaped their views.

9. To introduce the culminating activity, conduct a short discussion to develop a classroom-generated definition of *history*. Use questions such as: What is history? Is history a collection of facts or something more? What is historical interpretation—can it change? If so, how? Do different nations—or even different people—tell the same story of an event that they both shared? Why or why not? Lead students to an understanding of history as a story constructed from facts and interpretations; history is tentative—it can change with the discovery of new information, and it can change according to whose story dominates and who tells the story. Have students consider the exercises they just completed as a process of creating a historical narrative of a period. How did the story change or broaden as they analyzed additional documents and different experiences?

10. Ask students to consider the purpose of textbooks. Can textbooks tell everything? Why or why not? Whose story does a textbook tend to tell? What kinds of information does a textbook tend to provide? How do space limitations constrain the historical narrative presented in a textbook?

Working in their cross-section groups, have students read Handout 2E, a translation from a Japanese middle school textbook in the 1990s. Based on what they have learned, they should work together to write three paragraphs that will add to how this particular text deals with the Occupation. Students should also select an image to complete the textbook's coverage of the Occupation.

Recommended Films: Among the feature films that convey the spirit of early postwar Japan are *One Wonderful Sunday* (Kurosawa Akira, 1947), which in its first 15 minutes dramatizes the struggle of young people to begin to believe again in the possibilities of love and life in postwar Japan, and *Mother* (Naruse Mikio, 1952), which is about the role of the mother in the survival of the family in the war's aftermath and was based on the prizewinning essay in a national elementary school competition. A documentary that would be especially appropriate is *The Pacific Century, vol. 5: Reinventing Japan* (Annenberg/CPB, 1992). Drawing on archival footage and interviews with Japanese and Americans, the video studies the Occupation period from 1945 to 1952. The first four minutes show close-ups of the devastation of Tokyo, the arrival of American troops, and their interaction with children. The arrival of MacArthur as the "new emperor," creation of the new constitution, and conditions and points of views of the Japanese are among the topics covered.

Conducting a Socratic Seminar

Experienced leaders of seminars emphasize the importance of training in the methodology but also offer tips for getting started using Socratic seminars in class.

- A good seminar text has an identifiable voice and viewpoint. Articles offering a collection of viewpoints or secondary sources, such as textbooks, won't work. Literature, poetry, essays, speeches, and works of art can all be effective texts.

- Students ***must*** read the text carefully in preparation for discussion.

- Students and teachers work together to develop procedural norms. Typically, the group sits in a circle, and students do not raise their hands to speak. Students should be civil and polite.

- The seminar leader's role is to ask an initial question, then to facilitate by asking additional guiding and clarifying questions, challenging students to back up their comments with evidence from the reading, linking and contrasting ideas, and probing the ideas and reasoning of participants. The seminar leader's role is not to interject content or to correct students during the conversation.

- Set aside time for reflection and self-assessment at the end of the seminar. Ask each student to evaluate both the process and the substance of the discussion.

Some "rules" for Socratic seminar from a literature teacher:

- You must read the material to participate. In advance, highlight sections of the text you may want to talk about.

- Listen carefully; no side talking and no interrupting others.

- Don't raise hands; take turns.

- Talk to each other, not just to your teacher.

- Discuss ideas rather than one another's opinions. It's not a debate.

- Stick to the point.

- Refer to the text often.

Source: Adapted from Barbara Miller and Laurel Singleton, *Preparing Citizens: Linking Authentic Assessment and Instruction in Civic/Law-Related Education* (Boulder: Social Science Education Consortium, 1997), pp. 81-87.

Answer Key for Lesson 2

Handout 2A:

1. What were the main objectives of the U.S. Occupation? *To ensure that Japan is no longer a threat and to help Japan create a peaceful and responsible government.*

2. Describe four ways in which these objectives were to be achieved. *(1) Japan's sovereignty was limited; (2) Japan was to be completely disarmed and demilitarized; (3) Japan was encouraged to democratize; and (4) Japan was to develop an economy that would meet peacetime needs.*

3. What do you think were the major concerns the United States had about Japan? *The United States was concerned with the power of the military during the war and also the lack of democracy. Many of the goals addressed one or the other of these concerns.*

United States Initial Post-Surrender Policy for Japan

Read the Initial Post-Surrender Policy for Japan and answer the following questions.

1. What were the main objectives of the U.S. Occupation?

2. Describe four ways in which these objectives were to be achieved.

3. What do you think were the major concerns the United States had about Japan?

United States Initial Post-Surrender Policy for Japan
August 29, 1945

Purpose of This Document

This document is a statement of general initial policy relating to Japan after surrender. It has been approved by the President and distributed to the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers and to appropriate U.S. departments and agencies for their guidance. It does not deal with all matters relating to the occupation of Japan requiring policy determinations. Such matters as are not included or are not fully covered herein have been or will be dealt with separately.

Part I—Ultimate Objective

The ultimate objectives of the United States in regard to Japan, to which policies in the initial period must conform, are:

(a) To insure that Japan will not again become a menace to the United States or to the peace and security of the world.

(b) To bring about the eventual establishment of a peaceful and responsible government which will respect the rights of other states and will support the objectives of the United States as reflected in the ideals and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. The United States desires that this government should conform as closely as may be to principles of democratic self-government but it is not the responsibility of the Allied Powers to impose upon Japan any form of government not supported by the freely expressed will of the people.

These objectives will be achieved by the following principal means:

(a) Japan's sovereignty will be limited to the islands of Honshu, Hokkaido, Kyushu, Shikoku and such minor outlying islands as may be determined, in accordance with the Cairo Declaration and other agreements to which the United States is or may be a party.

(b) Japan will be completely disarmed and demilitarized. The authority of the militarists and the influence of militarism will be totally eliminated from her political, economic, and social life. Institutions expressive of the spirit of militarism and aggression will be vigorously suppressed.

(c) The Japanese people shall be encouraged to develop a desire for individual liberties and respect for fundamental human rights, particularly the freedoms of religion, assembly, speech, and the press. They shall also be encouraged to form democratic and representative organizations.

(d) The Japanese people shall be afforded opportunity to develop for themselves an economy which will permit the peacetime requirements of the population to be met.

Prepared jointly by the Department of State, the War Department, and the Navy Department and approved by the President on Sept. 6, 1945. The document in substance was sent to General MacArthur by radio on Aug. 29 and, after approval by the President, by messenger on Sept. 6.

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Part II—Allied Authority

1. Military Occupation. There will be a military occupation of the Japanese home islands to carry into effect the surrender terms and further the achievement of the ultimate objectives stated above. The occupation shall have the character of an operation in behalf of the principal Allied powers acting in the interests of the United Nations at war with Japan. For that reason, participation of the forces of other nations that have taken a leading part in the war against Japan will be welcomed and expected. The occupation forces will be under the command of a Supreme Commander designated by the United States.

Although every effort will be made, by consultation and by constitution of appropriate advisory bodies, to establish policies for the conduct of the occupation and the control of Japan which will satisfy the principal Allied powers, in the event of any differences of opinion among them, the policies of the United States will govern.

2. Relationship to Japanese Government. The authority of the Emperor and the Japanese Government will be subject to the Supreme Commander, who will possess all powers necessary to effectuate the surrender terms and to carry out the policies established for the conduct of the occupation and the control of Japan.

In view of the present character of Japanese society and the desire of the United States to attain its objectives with a minimum commitment of its forces and resources, the Supreme Commander will exercise his authority through Japanese governmental machinery and agencies, including the Emperor, to the extent that this satisfactorily furthers United States objectives. The Japanese Government will be permitted, under his instructions, to exercise the normal powers of government in matters of domestic administration. This policy, however, will be subject to the right and duty of the Supreme Commander to require changes in governmental machinery or personnel or to act directly if the Emperor or other Japanese authority does not satisfactorily meet the requirements of the Supreme Commander in effectuating the surrender terms. This policy, moreover, does not commit the Supreme Commander to support the Emperor or any other Japanese governmental authority in opposition to evolutionary changes looking toward the attainment of United States objectives. The policy is to use the existing form of Government in Japan, not to support it. Changes in the form of Government initiated by the Japanese people or government in the direction of modifying its feudal and authoritarian tendencies are to be permitted and favored. In the event that the effectuation of such changes involves the use of force by the Japanese people or government against persons opposed thereto, the Supreme Commander should intervene only where necessary to ensure the security of his forces and the attainment of all other objectives of the occupation.

3. Publicity as to Policies. The Japanese people, and the world at large, shall be kept fully informed of the objectives and policies of the occupation, and of progress made in their fulfillment.

Part III—Political

1. Disarmament and Demilitarization. Disarmament and demilitarization are the primary tasks of the military occupation and shall be carried out promptly and with determination. Every effort shall be made to bring home to the Japanese people the part played by the military and naval leaders, and those who collaborated with them in bringing about the existing and future distress of the people.

Japan is not to have an army, navy, air force, secret police organization, or any civil aviation. Japan's ground, air and naval forces shall be disarmed and disbanded and the Japanese Imperial General Headquarters, the General Staff and all secret police organizations shall be dissolved. Military and naval materiel, military and naval vessels and military and naval installations, and military, naval and civilian aircraft shall be surrendered and shall be disposed of as required by the Supreme Commander.

High officials of the Japanese Imperial General Headquarters, and General Staff, other high military and naval officials of the Japanese Government, leaders of ultra-nationalists and militarist organizations and other important exponents of militarism and aggression will be taken into custody and held for future disposition. Persons who have been active exponents of militarism and militant nationalism will be removed and excluded from public office and from any other position of public or substantial private responsibility. Ultra-nationalistic or militaristic social, political, professional and commercial societies and institutions will be dissolved and prohibited.

Militarism and ultra-nationalism, in doctrine and practice, including para-military training, shall be eliminated from the educational system. Former career military and naval officers, both commissioned and non-commissioned, and all other exponents of militarism and ultra-nationalism shall be excluded from supervisory and teaching positions.

2. War Criminals. Persons charged by the Supreme Commander or appropriate United Nations agencies with being war criminals, including those charged with having visited cruelties upon United Nations prisoners or other nationals, shall be arrested, tried and, if convicted, punished. Those wanted by another of the United Nations for offenses against its nationals, shall, if not wanted for trial or as witnesses or otherwise by the Supreme Commander, be turned over to the custody of such other nation.

3. Encouragement of Desire for Individual Liberties and Democratic Processes. Freedom of religious worship shall be proclaimed promptly on occupation. At the same time it should be made plain to the Japanese that ultra-nationalistic and militaristic organizations and movements will not be permitted to hide behind the cloak of religion.

The Japanese people shall be afforded opportunity and encouraged to become familiar with the history, institutions, culture, and the accomplishments of the United States and the other democracies. Association of personnel of the occupation forces with the Japanese population should be controlled, only to the extent necessary, to further the policies and objectives of the occupation.

Democratic political parties, with rights of assembly and public discussion, shall be encouraged, subject to the necessity for maintaining the security of the occupying forces.

Laws, decrees and regulations which establish discriminations on ground of race, nationality, creed or political opinion shall be abrogated; those which conflict with the objectives and policies outlined in this document shall be repealed, suspended or amended as required; and agencies charged specifically with their enforcement shall be abolished or appropriately modified. Persons unjustly confined by Japanese authority on political grounds shall be released. The judicial, legal, and police systems shall be reformed as soon as practicable to conform to the policies set forth in Articles 1 and 3 of this Part III and thereafter shall be progressively influenced, to protect individual liberties and civil rights.

Part IV—Economic

1. Economic Demilitarization. The existing economic basis of Japanese military strength must be destroyed and not be permitted to revive.

Therefore, a program will be enforced containing the following elements, among others: the immediate cessation and future prohibition of production of all goods designed for the equipment, maintenance, or use of any military force or establishment; the imposition of a ban upon any specialized facilities for the production or repair of implements of war, including naval vessels and all forms of aircraft; the institution of a system of inspection and control over selected elements in Japanese economic activity to prevent concealed or disguised military preparation; the elimination in Japan of those selected industries or branches of production whose chief value to Japan is in preparing for war; the prohibition of specialized research and instruction directed to the development of war-making power; and the limitation of the size and character of Japan's heavy industries to its future peaceful requirements, and restriction of Japanese merchant shipping to the extent required to accomplish the objectives and demilitarization.

The eventual disposition of those existing production facilities within Japan which are to be eliminated in accord with this program, as between conversion to other uses, transfer abroad, and scrapping will be determined after inventory. Pending decision, facilities readily convertible for civilian production should not be destroyed, except in emergency situations.

2. Promotion of Democratic Forces. Encouragement shall be given and favor shown to the development of organizations in labor, industry, and agriculture, organized on a democratic basis. Policies shall be favored which permit a wide distribution of income and of the ownership of the means of production and trade.

Those forms of economic activity, organization and leadership shall be favored that are deemed likely to strengthen the peaceful disposition of the Japanese people, and to make it difficult to command or direct economic activity in support of military ends.

To this end it shall be the policy of the Supreme Commander:

(a) To prohibit the retention in or selection for places of importance in the economic field of individuals who do not direct future Japanese economic effort solely towards peaceful ends; and

(b) To favor a program for the dissolution of the large industrial and banking combinations which have exercised control of a great part of Japan's trade and industry.

3. Resumption of Peaceful Economic Activity. The policies of Japan have brought down upon the people great economic destruction and confronted them with the prospect of economic difficulty and suffering. The plight of Japan is the direct outcome of its own behavior, and the Allies will not undertake the burden of repairing the damage. It can be repaired only if the Japanese people renounce all military aims and apply themselves diligently and with single purpose to the ways of peaceful living. It will be necessary for them to undertake physical reconstruction, deeply to reform the nature and direction of their economic activities and institutions, and to find useful employment for their people along lines adapted to and devoted to peace. The Allies have no intention of imposing conditions which would prevent the accomplishment of these tasks in due time.

Japan will be expected to provide goods and services to meet the needs of the occupying forces to the extent that this can be effected without causing starvation, widespread disease and acute physical distress.

The Japanese authorities will be expected, and if necessary directed, to maintain, develop and enforce programs that serve the following purposes:

(a) To avoid acute economic distress.

(b) To assure just and impartial distribution of available supplies.

(c) To meet the requirements for reparations deliveries agreed upon by the Allied Governments.

(d) To facilitate the restoration of Japanese economy so that the reasonable peaceful requirements of the population can be satisfied.

In this connection, the Japanese authorities on their own responsibility shall be permitted to establish and administer controls over economic activities, including essential national public services, finance, banking, and production and distribution of essential commodities, subject to the approval and review of the Supreme Commander in order to assure their conformity with the objectives of the occupation.

4. Reparations and Restitution.

Reparations. Reparations for Japanese aggression shall be made:

(a) Through the transfer—as may be determined by the appropriate Allied authorities—of Japanese property located outside of the territories to be retained by Japan.

(b) Through the transfer of such goods or existing capital equipment and facilities as are not necessary for a peaceful Japanese economy or the supplying of the occupying forces. Exports other than those directed to be shipped on reparation account or as restitution may be made only to those recipients who agree to provide necessary imports in exchange or agree to pay for such experts in foreign exchange. No form of reparation shall be exacted which will interfere with or prejudice the program for Japan's demilitarization.

Restitution. Full and prompt restitution will be required of all identifiable looted property.

5. Fiscal, Monetary, and Banking Policies. The Japanese authorities will remain responsible for the management and direction of the domestic fiscal, monetary, and credit polities subject to the approval and review of the Supreme Commander.

6. International Trade and Financial Relations. Japan shall be permitted eventually to resume normal trade relations with the rest of the world. During occupation and under suitable controls, Japan will be permitted to purchase from foreign countries raw materials and other goods that it may need for peaceful purposes, and to export goods to pay for approved imports.

Control is to be maintained over all imports and exports of goods, and foreign exchange and financial transactions. Both the policies followed in the exercise of these controls and their actual administration shall be subject to the approval and supervision of the Supreme Commander in order to make sure that they are not contrary to the policies of the occupying authorities, and in particular that all foreign purchasing power that Japan may acquire is utilized only for essential needs.

7. Japanese Property Located Abroad. Existing Japanese external assets and existing Japanese assets located in territories detached from Japan under the terms of surrender, including assets owned in whole or part by the Imperial Household and Government, shall be revealed to the occupying authorities and held for disposition according to the decision of the Allied authorities.

8. Equality of Opportunity for Foreign Enterprise Within Japan. The Japanese authorities shall not give, or permit any Japanese business organization to give, exclusive or preferential opportunity or terms to the enterprise of any foreign country, or cede to such enterprise control of any important branch of economic activity.

9. Imperial Household Property. Imperial Household property shall not be exempted from any action necessary to carry out the objectives of the occupation.

The Scavengers

Read the following short story by Nagai Kafu, written in late 1948, three years into the Occupation. Prepare to participate in a seminar discussion of the story and its perspectives on the Occupation. The questions below will guide the seminar.

1. Create a picture of social and economic conditions in 1948 Japan from this story. Note specific references in the short story to descriptions of the condition of the countryside, the people, transportation, and so on.
2. Who were the scavengers? What was their occupation? What concerns and issues dominated their lives? Where do you see evidence of this in the text?
3. Another group of key actors in this story are the farmers. What were their principal issues and concerns? Cite specific page references to support your answer.
4. How does the author feel about the scavengers? How does the author feel about the situation in Japan during these years?
5. What is the foundation of social and economic organization in 1947 Japan, as presented in this story?
6. What is the attitude toward death conveyed in this short story? What is the attitude toward life?
7. What can we identify as goals, issues, and concerns of some Japanese people as expressed in this short story?
8. Is this an optimistic or pessimistic story? Is it a social or political critique or a social or political commentary?

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The Scavengers
by Nagai Kafu

The novelist and essayist Nagai Kafu was born in Tokyo in 1879. He entered the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages to study Chinese, but was drawn to Japanese theater and music. Attending plays, learning how to play traditional Japanese instruments, and dabbling in writing took precedence over his studies, and he quit the university. In 1898, Kafu became the protégé of the popular writer Hirotsu Ryoru, from whom he learned about French literature and a genre of writing called naturalism. In 1903, his parents sent him to the United States, hoping he would find direction in his life. After four years in the United States, Kafu returned to Japan and began his career as a writer. His first book was a collection of short stories and essays about America. Kafu is best known for his novels and essays about life in Tokyo before the Pacific War.

The branch of the Sobu Line between Noda and Funabashi carries so few passengers other than those out hunting rice and sweet potatoes that it has come to be known as "the scavenging line." The trains generally have but two or three cars, battered and dirty to the point that they seem to be meant not for passengers but for freight. There is not a pane of glass in the window frames, and old boards nailed together serve as doors. The state of the uncushioned benches is such that a person in ordinary dress has trouble finding a place fit for sitting. The few trains each day, no more than three or four, are always so crowded that on dark days one can scarcely make out what is baggage and what passengers.

It was about ten o'clock on the morning of a day when the scavenging train was even more crowded than usual. Because of floods on the Toné River, service to the north, and even between Tokyo and Ichikawa, had been out for several days, and the tracks had only just been reopened. The train was about to enter a station some two or three stops before Funabashi when a rumor began to circulate to the effect that policemen were waiting in Funabashi Station to look for black-market food. It spread through the scavenging train like a flash fire.

All of the scavengers had gone out that morning before daylight to make the rounds of farms with which they were acquainted, and now they were in a hurry to get back to Tokyo and sell what they had in their knapsacks. Well, they would get off at the next stop, no matter what village it proved to be. If things seemed in order, they would get back on the train.

Otherwise they would walk to Funabashi, there to catch a train for Tokyo. Some suggested that it might be better to turn back to Kashiwa, and there catch a train for Ueno. Someone reached for the knapsack at his feet. As if that were the signal, the flood toward the doors began, like an army in rout. Almost no one was left behind. The train was still in motion when the flood began spilling out on the platform.

"So this is where we are," said those who knew the land, starting briskly for the gate.

Those who were strangers followed.

"I have a feeling I've been here before."

"A bad place to do any buying. The farmers know they have you where they want you."

Source: Reprinted from *Kafu the Scribbler: The Life and Writings of Nagai Kafu, 1879-1959*, with the permission of the publishers, Stanford University Press. © 1965 by Edward Seidensticker.

"They won't take money. If you want to get anything out of them you've got to bring shoes or towels."

"There should be a bus to Nakayama from a little farther down."

Such were the remarks they exchanged as they trudged along.

It was a pleasant October day, not a cloud in the sky. The rice, already cut, hung on frames among the paddies. Cabbages and radish leaves were spread out like carpets. The tips of the branches, in which shrikes were calling back and forth, carried traces of autumn color, and the persimmons in farmyards where chrysanthemums and camellias were just coming into bloom were a bright vermilion. It was good weather for walking. Weighted down by their bundles, the scavengers fell into a column as they started for their several destinations. The men were in sweaters or civil-defense uniforms that were no better than rags, and old yellow caps and battered shoes or straw sandals. Most of them seemed to be in their forties. The women, too, seemed for the most part to be about forty. They had dirty towels tied around their faces to keep off the sun, and they wore baggy trousers over their skirts. Some were barefoot.

Gradually the column began to break up, the good walkers pushing ahead, the weaker ones falling behind in groups of three and four. Presently some stopped to rest, laying their packs on the grass. It became difficult to know which were from the scavenging train and which were residents of the district. Everyone was dressed very much like everyone else, and all of the bundles were similar.

At a curve in the road where flaming daisies were in bloom, an old woman was the very first to put down her pack. She propped it against a milestone, under a nettle tree. Vacantly, she turned her eyes on the backs of those who had gone on.

A woman perhaps in her forties came up. They appeared to be acquaintances from the train.

"It's a real nuisance, isn't it. I think I'll have a rest too."

"What time do you suppose it is?" The old woman squinted up at the bright autumn sun.

"It'll soon be twelve. If we don't hurry, we might miss out."

"Maybe we should have gone on down the tracks to Funabashi."

"I don't know the roads around here. Do you?"

"I have a feeling I've been here before. Only once, though, and then with someone from the neighborhood. I have no idea where anything is. It was a long time ago. The war had started, I think, but not the air raids."

"It'll soon be ten years. And even now that it's over, you don't know where it will all end. It's a hard life, I say, when you have things like this happening to you."

"A hard life it is, all right. Bad enough for people like you. And what am I going to do at my age?"

"How old are you?"

"Sixty-seven. I'm no good any more. It seems like just yesterday that I could carry sixty and seventy pounds with no trouble. But you can't fight the years."

"You do pretty well, whatever you say. I'm beginning to wonder how long I'll hold out myself."

"Oh, you'll have the young ones to look after you. They won't let you starve."

"I only hope you're right. But you can't depend on them these days. Well, it doesn't do a person much good to sit here grumbling. We've had quite a rest. Shall we move on?"

The younger woman, who appeared to be a housewife, hitched up her pack. The older woman, too, shouldered her rice, done up in a large, greenish kerchief, and the two of them started down the unfamiliar road.

"Where do you live in Tokyo? Honjo?"

"Nihonbashi. Hakozaki."

"You're lucky. Hakozaki wasn't bombed. I was in Kinshicho myself, and I was lucky to get away with the clothes on my back. Couldn't take a thing with me."

"It was the same with me. I was working in Sagacho, cooking for a man by the upper bridge, a wholesale dealer in china. Both the old master and the young master were killed in the raid. It's funny, isn't it. It doesn't matter about someone like me, and I come through without a scorch. And the young master gets killed, and him with so much to live for. You never can tell. That's what I always say."

"Listen—the siren. Noon." The younger woman turned to look in the direction of the siren, which seemed fairly near. The old woman paid no attention. Untying the towel around her face and wiping the sweat from her forehead, she fell a step and two steps behind.

"Suppose we have lunch over there. It doesn't matter how much of a hurry you're in, you can do just so much walking." Seeing a dilapidated little wayside shrine under a great camellia tree, the younger woman unloaded her pack on the stone platform. Cocks were crowing busily. The old woman laid down her cloth bundle beside the other, and watched in silence as the housewife undid her lunch.

"Aren't you eating ?" asked the latter.

"I'm not hungry yet."

"Well, you'll have to excuse me, then. I'm starved."

"Please go right ahead. I'll just rest here a while."

The housewife took a large ball of rice in both hands and plunged into it without looking up. Then she saw that the old woman was squatting as if in pain, her knees hugged in her arms.

"What's the matter? Don't you feel well?"

There was no answer. Perhaps the old woman was hard of hearing, perhaps she did not want to talk. The housewife attacked a second ball of rice, and, crunching away at a pickle, licked her fingers. The old woman was teetering forward, her head between her knees. There was a loud snore. No one like a child or an old person for snoring, no matter where you are, the housewife seemed to be thinking.

"Wake up. It's time we got started."

There was no answer.

"Well, I'll be on my way, then," she said, hoisting up her pack.

Just then the old woman fell forward, and the housewife sensed for the first time that something was desperately wrong. Lifting the other from behind, she saw that the eyes were closed and there was foam at the mouth.

"What's the matter? What's the matter? Come on, now, pull yourself together." She shook the old woman. There was no answer. The old woman slipped from her arms and rolled over.

The housewife looked around. As far as the eye could reach, over fields of radish and spinach and onions, there was not a person, not a farmhouse in sight. There was only the shimmering autumn sunlight. A horse cart approached and went off again, paying no attention to the two. The housewife thought of an old person who had lived next to her, and who, while talking of this and that after a bath one evening, had fallen over dead.

"So she's gone and done it."

She looked around. Then she took off her knapsack again. Dragging it and the woman's bundle in under the eaves, she quickly changed her sweet potatoes for the polished rice the old woman had been carrying. By weight, rice brought more than sweet potatoes.

She retied the old towel around her face, and, without a glance backward, started off down the road.

It dipped and gradually rose again, to disappear in a pine grove atop a distant hill. There was a lowing of cattle from generally that direction. Panting desperately and bathed in sweat, the woman hurried along as if someone were chasing her. However often she wiped her forehead, sweat came pouring into her eyes an instant later. She had to rest. If she overtaxed herself she would meet the old woman's fate. But, stumbling in a rut from time to time, she was determined to get as far as that pine grove. She was terrified at the thought of being left anywhere along the road she had come. She would get beyond the pine grove, even if she had to crawl.

Once there, once beyond the pine grove, she would somehow have passed a boundary. She would somehow be at a sufficient distance that the scene of the crime no longer concerned her. She felt that if only she could get beyond the grove, then no one walking in the same direction would know where she had come from.

She was not wrong. Perhaps it was her imagination, but when she climbed the rise, shoulders heaving, and entered the pine grove, the scenery ahead beyond the trees and the dwarf bamboo, the aspect of the trees themselves, seemed completely different. The crops in the fields were different. Here and there among the thatched roofs was the tiled roof of a two-story house with glass doors and an imposing gate. The grove was shady and the breeze cool. She heaved a sigh, and as she squatted down to rest, the weight of the rice threw her forward. She was not able to get up for a time.

A middle-aged man came up the rise on a bicycle. Stopping near her to wipe away the sweat, he lighted a cigarette. She glanced at him. He would be a scavenger himself, on the way back from looking for food. On the luggage stand of his bicycle was what appeared to be a folded knapsack.

"Are you out buying?" the woman asked timidly.

"No luck at all. Things are completely out of sight."

"It's not easy, is it, when they don't want to sell."

"It's not easy at all. With rice you don't get anywhere. They ask whatever comes into their heads and aren't satisfied with just money."

"They put the squeeze on me, too, but I was finally able to get a little."

"Women seem to do better than men. Two hundred yen a quart they want. Can you believe it?"

"But there are places in Tokyo where you can get more than that. If you make me a good offer, I might let you have some of mine here."

"Thank you. That would be very kind of you. How much do you have?"

"Maybe half a bushel. It's pretty heavy, and I'm afraid I'm coming down with a cold. You can have it if you want it."

"How would one eighty a quart be?"

"That's what I bought it for. You ought to let me make at least five a quart."

The man felt the weight of the pack. Then, looking to see that no one was coming, he untied his knapsack and took out scales.

The transaction was soon finished.

Freed of her burden, the woman tucked the roll of bills into the breast of her kimono. She looked at the man's receding back as she left the grove. Birds were singing in the trees, and insects in the grasses.

Experiences of Occupation Document Set

Section 1: Children Play at Occupation

This excerpt from the 1999 Pulitzer Prize-winner for nonfiction, Embracing Defeat, *by John W. Dower, offers an analysis of how games created and played in the early occupation period reflected the experiences and perspectives of children growing up at this time.*

Children's games can provide a barometer of their times. . . . [In the early 1940s] boys in particular had played war with a chilling innocence of what they were being encouraged to become. They donned headbands and imagined themselves piloting the planes that would, in fact, never return. They played at being heroic sailors long after the imperial navy began to be decimated. Armed with wooden spears and bayonets, they threw themselves screaming at mock-ups of Roosevelt and Churchill and pretended they were saving the country from the foreign devils. In defeat, there was no such clear indoctrination behind children's games. Essentially, they played at doing what they saw grownups do. It was a sobering sight.

. . . [T]he child's world was defined, in generally positive and uncritical ways, by an acceptance of the fact of being occupied. Jeeps were associated with the chocolate and chewing gum handed out by cheerful GIs, and thus with the few delicious amenities imaginable in these war-torn lives. "Hello," "good-bye," "jeep," and "give me chocolate" were the first English words most youngsters learned. They also learned to fold newspapers into soft GI-style hats rather than the traditional samurai helmets of the past. . . .

The games *were* happy—that was the point of playing, after all—but in ways that almost invariably tended to sadden grownups, for they highlighted so clearly and innocently the pathos that war and defeat had brought into their lives. Early in 1946, for example, it was reported that the three most popular activities among small boys and girls were *yamiichi-gokko, panpan asobi,* and *demo asobi*—that is, holding a mock black market, playing prostitute and customer, and recreating left-wing political demonstrations.

Black-market games—hawkers and their wares—might be seen in retrospect as a kind of school for small entrepreneurs, but to grownups at the time they were simply another grim reminder of the necessity of engaging in illegal activity to make ends meet. *Panpan asobi,* prostitution play, was even harder for parents to behold, for *panpan* was a postwar euphemism for freelance prostitutes who catered almost exclusively to the GI trade. A photograph from early 1946 shows laughing youngsters in shabby clothes reenacting this—a boy wearing a soft GI hat, his arm hooked into that of a little girl wearing patched pants. In the "*demo*" game, children ran around waving red paper flags. . . .

As time passed, the playtime repertoire expanded. In mid-1947, a teacher in Osaka reported that his pupils seemed absorbed in playing "train" games, using the teacher's platform at the front of the classroom as the center of their activities. In "repatriate train," children put on their school knapsacks, jammed together on the dais, shook and trembled, and got off at "Osaka." "Special train"—obviously a takeoff on the railway cars reserved for occupation personnel—

Source: From *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II,* by John W. Dower. Copyright © 1999 by John W. Dower. Used by permission of W.W. Norton & Company.

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Panpan asobi—pretending to be a GI and prostitute—became a popular activity among young boys and girls. Other inventive children's games included imitating black-market activities, labor demonstrations, and overcrowded trains. Used by permission of Kyodo News/Photo Centre.

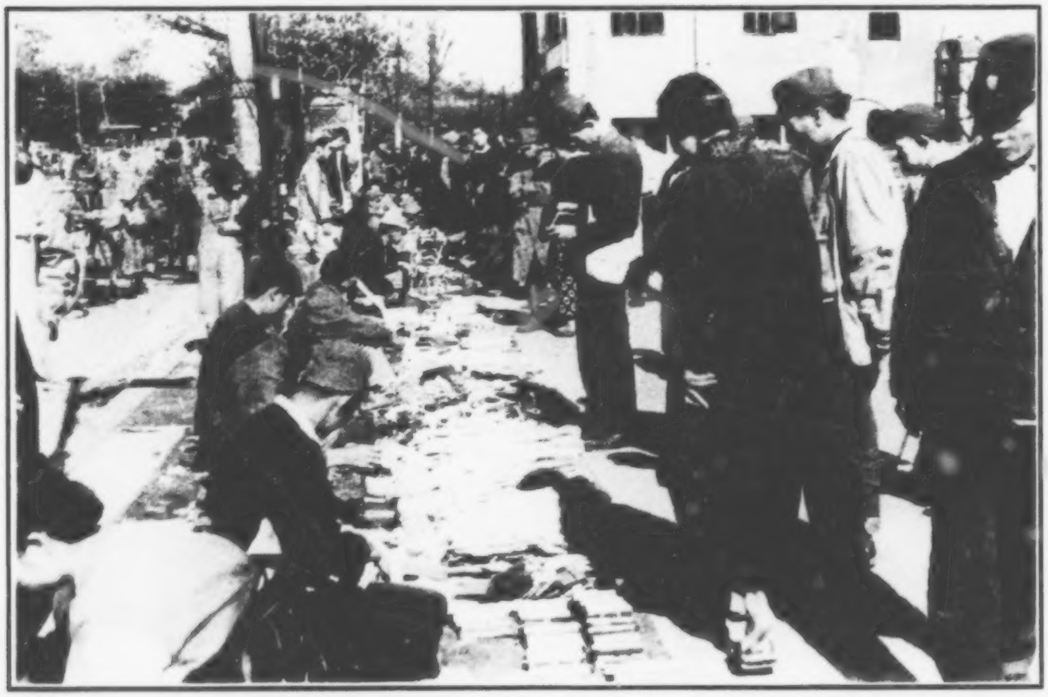
allowed only "pretty people" to get on. A "conductor" judged who was favored and who wasn't. A button missing? Rejected. Dirty face? Rejected. Those who passed these arbitrary hurdles sat in leisure on the train. Those rejected stood by enviously. In "ordinary train," everyone piled on, pushing and shoving, complaining about being stepped on, crying out for help. Every so often, the conductors balancing on the edges of the platform announced that the train had broken down and everyone had to get off. It was, the teacher lamented, a sorry spectacle to behold: from playing war to playing at utter confusion.

. . . .In *runpen-gokko* they pretended to be homeless vagrants. The game took its name from the German word *lumpen*, which had come to Japan earlier as "lumpenproletariat" and then acquired the everyday meaning of being an unemployed vagrant. The atmosphere of lawlessness was reenacted in "catch a thief" (*dorobo-gokko*) and "pretending handcuffs" (*tejo-gokko*). "Catch a thief," it was said, had replaced hide-and-seek in popularity. . . . Predictably, child's play also included *kaidashi-gokko*, pretending to leave home to search for food.

Experiences of Occupation Document Set

Section 2: The Black Market

As the story "The Scavengers" indicated, many Japanese were forced to survive by buying and trading goods on the black market. This photo from the early postwar years shows a thriving black market. Study the photo to identify what the vendors in the foreground are selling. Why would there be a big demand for such goods immediately after the war? Next, read the essay by a teenager in rural Japan in the early postwar years. How did the black market affect the author and his family?



Source: *Mainichi Evening News*. Used by permission.

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Why Do People Do Black Marketing?
by Yoshinori Kawai, Boy (15)

On the afternoon after the harvesting was finished, mother went to the field with a basket on her back to gather whatever was left of the rice. She told me to get the bath ready and warm up the soup for supper. I drew six pails of water from the well and poured them into the bath, but as it was too early to light it, I went to get some chestnuts.

I had hardly picked up six nice big ones, when I happened to look toward our house and saw the postman just leaving our door. What could he have brought? Nobody ever writes to us. I ran home in great excitement and found a postcard inserted in the crack of the door. I carried it into the house and looked eagerly at it. It was addressed to father, and on the other side, in big letters was written: "VIOLATION OF FOOD CONTROL." Below were the words: "Come at ten o'clock on the thirteenth for questioning. Bring this card and your seal." Below this was the stamp of the Yamagata District Inspectors' Office.

Only a few days before, father had been summoned to Yamanoue for selling some red beans and about twelve pounds of rice, and now he was summoned to Yamagata on the same charge. Father had sold these things almost a year before when, pressed for money, many people including father, sold beans and rice to the people of Yamanoue. They certainly have taken a long time to investigate. It is really a nuisance. . . .

It developed that a black marketeer named Denko had been arrested and all the farmers who had sold food to him had become involved, except those whose names he could not remember.

I was thinking about all this and looking at the postcard, when father came along with a bamboo basket filled with something on his back. I quietly put down the postcard and peeped into the basket. It was full of *akebias* [a type of fruit], which he had brought us as a special treat. . . . He looked at the postcard and muttered, "I wonder who that is from." Then he picked it up and began to read it.

"I was hoping this notice wouldn't come," he said with a queer smile, "but here it is. I wonder if anyone else got one."

I told father that I had seen the postman go to Tozo's house too. "I will go over and see," he said, turning and walking toward our neighbor's house. . . .

When father came back, we all looked at him and asked if Okane had received anything. "Yes, they did," said father. "Okane looked pale and scared when she told me that they have to go on the tenth." . . .

"They will surely fine us," mother said. "That blackmarketeer is a rascal. He told the police that we sold him thirty-seven kilo of beans when it was only twenty-two."

"We gave him a nice dinner, too," said brother from the bath.

"Aren't we who sold the beans responsible, too?" I asked hesitatingly.

Source: Seikyo Muchaku, ed., *Echoes from a Mountain School* (Tokyo: Kenkyusha Press, 1953), pp. 29-38. Used by permission.

"I wish we hadn't sold them, mother," said brother, "Yoshinori is right, we are responsible, but if we hadn't sold those things, we wouldn't have been able to buy clothes and pay our taxes. How I wish we could live without dealing in the black-market, but what are we to do? The Government prices are so low that we can't possibly live."

"It is certainly hard," said father.

Then mother took the basket of *akebias* and emptied them into the winnowing tray. We all began to eat them, but no one spoke. All the pleasure had gone out of them. . . .

On the fatal day that father had to go to the police station, I stayed late at school doing some extra work in Social Studies. As I walked along toward home in the dark, I kept wondering how father had been treated by the police.

When I got home, I found Omoi, Tozo's wife, waiting by the fire to see what had happened to father. She waited until we finished supper and then asked father how they had treated him.

"They were pretty rough with the men," said father, "but fairly polite to the women."

"I don't care how polite they are," said Omoi, "I don't want to go alone. The whole thing is utterly stupid. We had no money, and we sold what we were able to save from our own food. What was wrong about that? Imagine to get mixed up with the police for selling our own food. I don't want to work any more." . . .

They all agreed that it was time for all the farmers to get together and not permit the Government officials to eat our precious rice. These officials are the ones who are constantly interfering with the farmers. How can we live if we are not permitted to sell our products freely? Where would the taxes come from? How could we pay our electric rates? How could we send our children to school? The schools are always asking for money. I sat among them listening and wondering why they did not get together and present their grievances openly to the Government, instead of sitting around their fires and complaining. If farmers are obliged to get money by breaking the laws, they will never make any progress. Something must be done to improve conditions and make better laws.

Experiences of Occupation Document Set

Section 3: From Tanks to Cars

This description of the transformation of some wartime industries is excerpted from a study of the Occupation by John W. Dower, entitled Embracing Defeat.

Former sword makers began producing kitchen cutlery. Steel helmets were converted into cooking pots. A former manufacturer of machine guns redesigned its plant to turn out sewing machines. Publishers, faced with acute paper shortages, figured out how to make cheap recycled paper with a process formerly used to make "balloon" bombs. By the end of 1946, Kobe's famous Motomachi shopping district had been substantially rebuilt using metal and bulletproof glass that came from former aircraft factories.

In the process, the former enemy became an entirely new kind of target. Optics technicians who until recently had been engaged in producing lenses for military use emerged with a "Baby Pearl" camera aimed at GI buyers. Former designers of fighter planes for Nakajima Aircraft (now re-named Fuji Industry) came up with the "Rabbit," a motor scooter based on a U.S. military model and made from tail parts for the Ginga bomber. American habits and customs derided only yesterday as alien and uncouth now put a gleam in the eyes of small businessmen. Within a year after the surrender, some four hundred companies were making chewing gum.

It took only months for a new business sector to emerge catering to the holiday needs of the conqueror. By November 1945, small entrepreneurs had obtained enough paper through the allotment system to meet the GI demand for exotic "Greetings from Tokyo" Christmas cards. Some 5.5 million cards were printed, mostly reproducing winter scenes from traditional woodblock prints. For the GIs as well as their families and acquaintances back home, no sharper contrast could possibly be imagined to the images that had prevailed only a few months previously. The Japanese landscape was now dotted with temples and shrines rather than pillars of smoke and pockets of flame, while graceful geisha under parasols in the snow took the place of the monkey-men hiding in tropical jungles.

The GI desire for cigarettes was met almost immediately by the government itself, which held a monopoly on tobacco sales. Three new brands were produced specifically for the occupation forces with the romanized names of Rose, Salon, and Gion (after the famous Gion geisha quarter in Kyoto). Indigenous liquor manufacturers, who only a few years earlier had been toasting Japan's spectacular initial victories against the "devilish Anglo-Americans," quickly came to market with a smooth intoxicant (so the story goes) bearing the friendly and reassuring label "Special Six-Year-Old Brandy, Brewed Especially for the Occupation Forces."

Housewives welcomed, if not the victor personally, then at least his lingo and diet into their kitchens. In mid 1946, as rice rations disappeared, it was announced that "the era of flour has arrived." An Osaka electric company responded to the challenge with an immensely popular device known as the *Homu Beika*, Japanese-English for "Home Baker." This consisted of a crude wooden box lined with metal sheets connected to an electric cord. One poured in batter or corn

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Source: From *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II*, by John W. Dower. Copyright © 1999 by John W. Dower. Used by permission of W.W. Norton & Company.

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meal (a new taste sensation, courtesy of food imports from America), and that was it—although the Home Baker also emitted an unintended blue sparkle that was regarded as aesthetically pleasing. The earliest advertisements proclaimed this to be "The First Step in Kitchen Culture—a Bread Maker That Does Not Need Charcoal, Gas or an Electric Burner."

Bread making was integral to plain survival, of course. At the same time, it also was a small manifestation of the horizontal westernization that reached into every corner of society. Another example was the "dress-making boom." Western-style dressmaking quickly emerged not only as an attractive practical skill, but as a symbol of liberation from the drab poverty and anti-westernism of the war years. Dressmaking schools, fashion magazines, and a variety of style books all blossomed amid the ruin. When the designer Sugino Yoshiko decided to reopen her "Doreme" dressmaking school early in 1946, she prepared only thirty application forms. On the day set for registration, she was astonished to find "a thousand and several hundred" women patiently queued up in the cold outside the school gate. Chain schools like Sugino's quickly spread through the country. The colorful, broad-shouldered "bold look" associated with American women became the rage for those able to indulge in a touch of fashion and the dream of those still too poor to do so.

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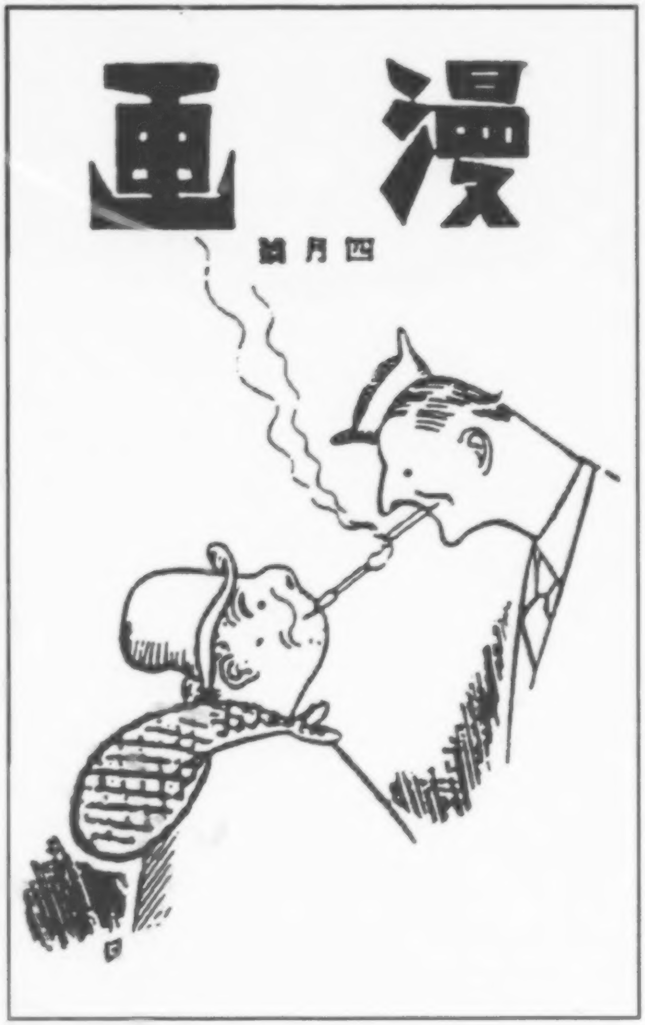
Experiences of Occupation Document Set

Section 4: Occupied and Occupier

The presence of occupying forces provoked reactions from Japanese people who encountered them. The first document shows the cover of a magazine, Manga. *The second is a letter from a Japanese citizen to General Douglas MacArthur, describing an incident with American soldiers. The third document is a poem by an anonymous author. What view of Americans and, in particular, the occupying forces do these documents convey?*



Source: *Manga* (August 1945). *Manga* magazine is no longer published.

October 19 [1945]

To the Honorable Supreme Commander, Dear General MacArthur:

May I say that American soldiers, with their strict discipline, have taught us Japanese a lesson that strikes the bottom of our hearts, but there are those among them whose conduct is not acceptable. On the 19th of October shortly after noon, two members of the American occupation army appeared at the provisions depot [of the former Japanese army] at the Ibaraki Golf Club, Kasuga-mura, Mishima-gun, Osaka Prefecture. They loaded a truck with sake and beer and sold them at black market prices along a road in [the village of] Shimohozumi.

There may be ways to explain this activity, but there must be a more fair and rational way. I believe this was not done legally, so I am notifying you. It was also wrong for the Japanese to buy the goods, but we are like hungry wolves, so I feel those who instigated the wrongdoing are to blame.

Only the jeeps
seem to receive
the May sunshine.

Anonymous

Source of letter: Sodei Rinjiro et al., *Dear General MacArthur: Letters from the Japanese During the American Occupation* (Boulder, CO: Rowman and Littlefield, 2001).
Source of poem: Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries.

Experiences of Occupation Document Set

Section 5: Judge Protests Food Shortages

In this excerpt from his study of the Occupation, Embracing Defeat, *historian John W. Dower discusses the Japanese government's inability to address the severe food shortages in early postwar Japan. In response to the events described by Dower, the Japanese government instituted a campaign against illegal trading in government-controlled commodities, such as salt and tobacco. The poster that follows, produced by an unknown designer in 1949 for the government, was part of that campaign.*

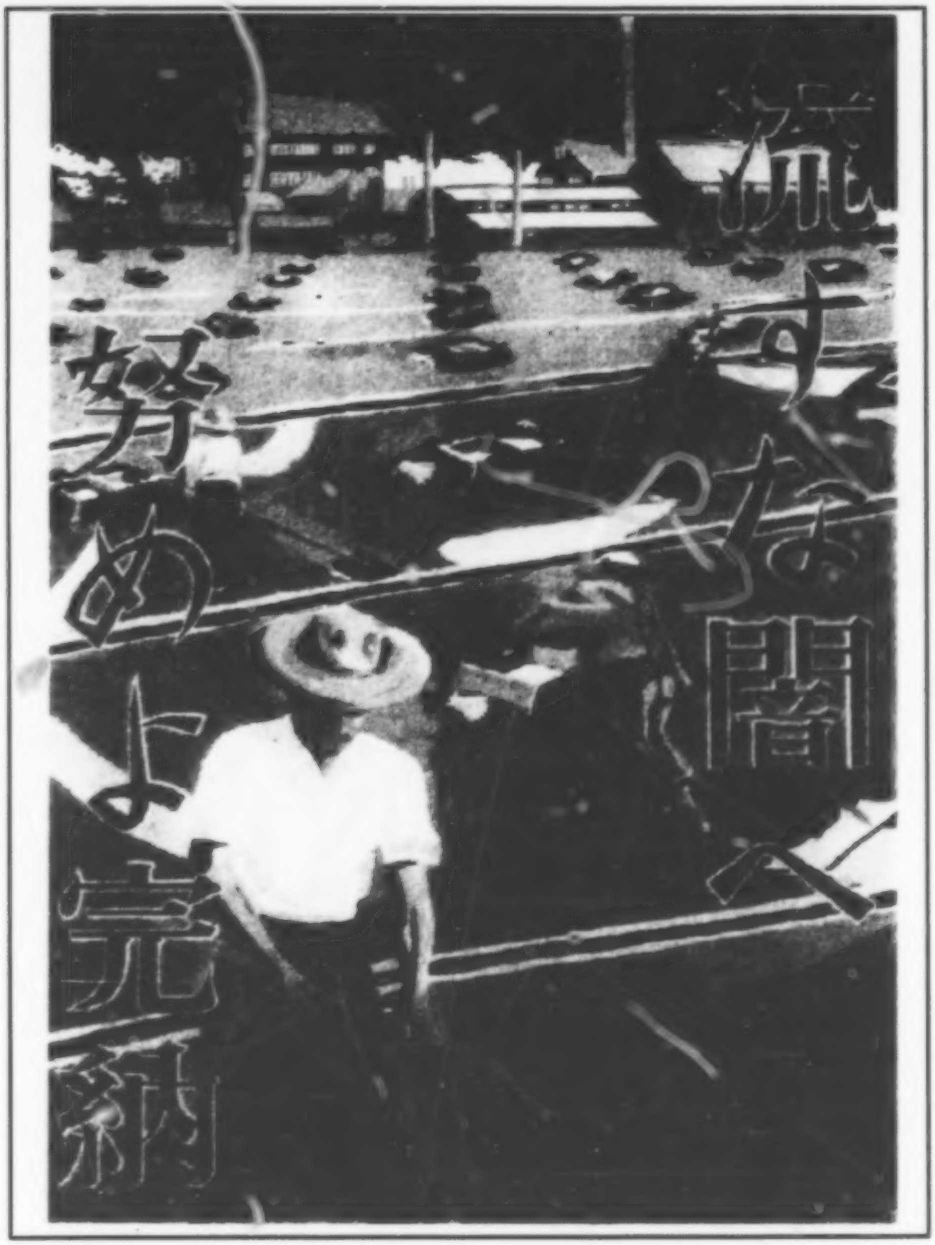
Early in November 1947, the entire country was shocked by an incident that cast the government's incompetence addressing the food crisis in an almost pathological light. Belatedly, the press reported the death by starvation twenty days earlier of a thirty-three-year-old judge named Yamaguchi Yoshitada. He had presided over a small subsection of the Tokyo municipal court devoted to petty economic crimes, where the great bulk of cases involved transactions on the black market. Serious profiteers had almost never appeared before him. Virtually all the individuals on whom he had been required to pass judgment were desperate men and women struggling to make ends meet.

Yamaguchi's wife, herself the daughter of a judge, later recalled one case her husband told her about, involving a seventy-two-year-old woman whose son had not returned from the war and whose daughter-in-law had been killed in an air raid. When arrested, she had been attempting to feed her two grandchildren by selling such personal possessions as her kimonos and buying food on the black market. Because she was a repeat offender, the judge had no alternative but to sentence her to jail.

. . . .While industrialists, politicians, and former military officers made killings on the black market, while government officials lavishly wined and dined their American overlords, some 1.22 *million* ordinary men and women were arrested for illegal black-market transactions in 1946, a number that rose to 1.36 million and then 1.5 million in the next two years. From the young judge's personal perspective, he had no alternative but to find those brought before him guilty. Yet his own family also relied on the black market for basic commodities. A half-year before his death, a popular magazine featured a short article that concluded that if all black-market regulations were strictly enforced, everyone in the country would have had to go to prison.

The young judge's response to this moral dilemma was not to challenge the law, but rather to live by it personally—to perform his duties with a clear conscience, as he told his wife, and at the same time share the suffering of the people. Sometime in 1946, he asked his wife to feed him nothing beyond his rationed allotment, although it was understood that she might buy black-market food for their children and herself. Thereafter, most of the family's legally obtained food, particularly the rice, went to the children. Yamaguchi's widow later recalled days when she and her husband consumed nothing more than salted water. Judge Yamaguchi died on October 11, 1947.

Source: From *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II*, by John W. Dower. Copyright © 1999 John W. Dower. Used by permission of W.W. Norton & Company.


流すな闇へ
努めよ完納

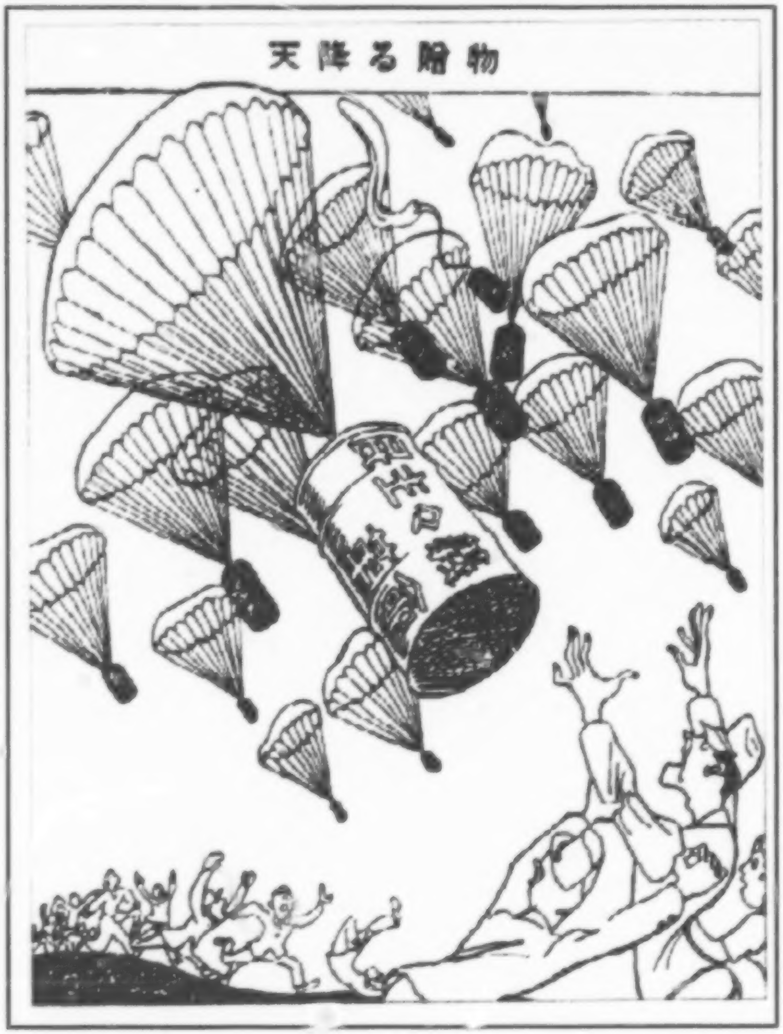
Don't Sell Salt Illegally. Make an Effort to Deliver All Your Production to the Government.

Source: Tobacco and Salt Museum, Tokyo. Used by permission.

Experiences of Occupation Document Set

Section 6: The Gift of Democracy

In this August 1946 cartoon from artist Kato Etsuro, Japanese civilians and ex-soldiers are running to catch the parachuted survival rations sent by Allied troops. The canisters from the Allied forces and the United States were usually filled with clothes, food rations, and reading material about the Occupation forces and reforms. The canister in the front in this cartoon bears the words Ademocratic revolution.≅ What is the commentary presented in this cartoon? How do the people perceive these reforms? How does the artist? On the following page is an excerpt from a letter sent by a resident of Tokyo to General MacArthur. What is this author=s view on democracy? To what does he compare hunger? Why do you think he used such a comparison?



November 28 [probably 1945]

The problem of democracy should be addressed after ample food has been obtained. Let the people have a "bare livelihood" [*demo kurashi*, a pun on "democracy"].

This is not a time for ideological debate. Where is justice when only American soldiers have full stomachs and the Japanese people are on the verge of starvation? Have you forgotten the American spirit? Import a large quantity of staple foods immediately. Otherwise the people will not respect America; they will alienate themselves. I dare ask, "Are you planning another mass killing of the people with a passive atomic bomb?"

Source: Sodei Rinjiro et al., *Dear General MacArthur: Letters from the Japanese During the American Occupation* (Boulder, CO: Rowman and Littlefield, 2001).

Experiences of Occupation Document Set

Section 7: Reconstruction

Three poets, one a well-known social critic and two anonymous, convey feelings about the Japanese people in the face of devastation and reconstruction in the early postwar years—1945 and 1946. The fourth document is a photograph of a building in a shantytown in a former urban area about a year after the war's end. What challenges would the existence of such areas pose to reconstruction?

The country has become small
and powerless,
food scarce,
shame plentiful,
life fragile.
Stop grieving!
Raise your eyes
to the treetops,
to the sky.

Anonymous

Small green vegetables
are growing in the rain
along the burned street

Anonymous

Source of first poem: *Bungei Shoshi* (January 1946).
Source of second poem: Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries.

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Reconstruction
by Kurihara Sadako

Insides hollow, windows blown out in the blast,
mouths gaping idiotically,
the great buildings are like people done in
by the tragedy of the century.
Their trunks a forlorn row, the black trees
that survived the flames
sing a weird song of death,
and the rubble still holds horror and the stench of death.

To this city—
has time passed so quickly?—
Those who fled that day's horrible hell
to villages in the hills return,
recovered in body if not in soul,
and build small huts.

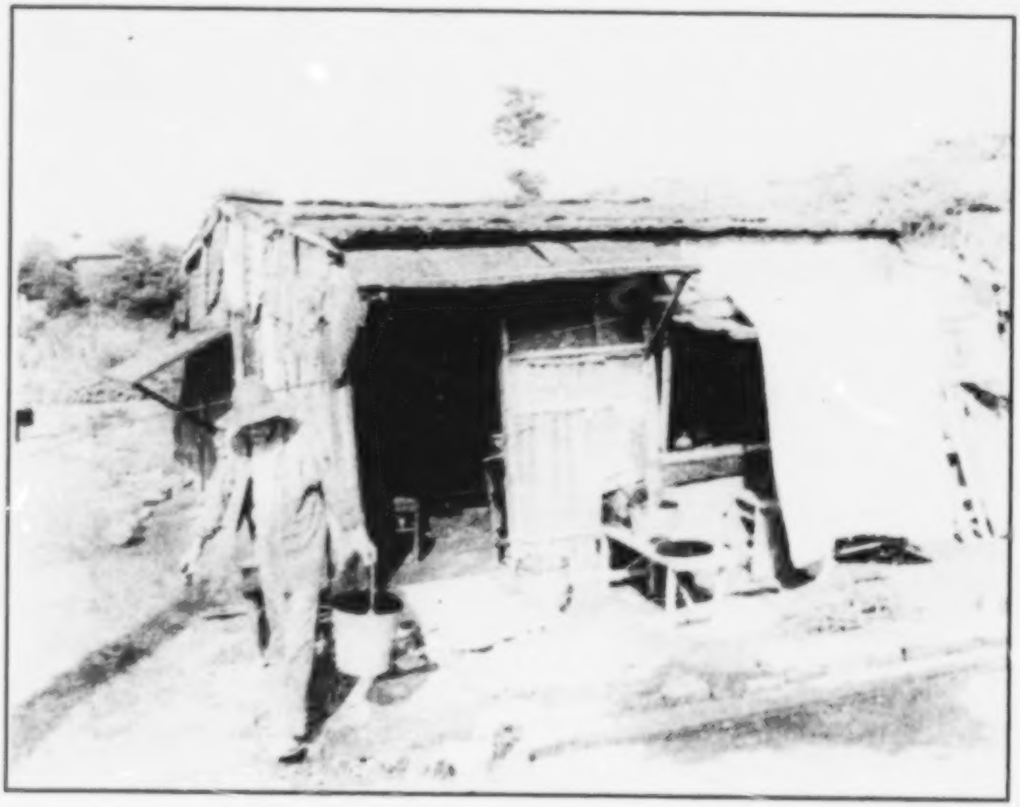
With child, spouse, mother dead,
who needs a large house?
In the small shacks
the survivors call constantly, "Come closer,"
keep each other warm, and carry on.

Day by day, the shacks grow in number, and land
thought barren—
it too is leveled nicely and soon green with vegetables.
Here and there even now people raise small ridgepoles
and build houses.

The houses are crude, like those the first humans built
in the virgin forest,
but these people show even more resolute strength
than the first humans.

January 1946

Source: From "Reconstruction," *When We Say >Hiroshima=: Selected Poems*, by Kurihara Sadako, translated with an introduction by Richard H. Minear, Michigan Monograph Series in Japanese Studies, Number 23 (Ann Arbor, MI: Center for Japanese Studies, The University of Michigan, 1999). Used by permission.



Source: National Archives and Records Administration.

Experiences of Occupation Document Set

Section 8: Looking Forward

A song and poster from the early Occupation years provide examples of a tone and goal for many Japanese. "The Apple Song," featured in an October 1945 movie release, became a national hit in the first months after the war. Why would this song have appealed to many Japanese during the early Occupation? The poster is an advertisement from Shiseido, a cosmetics company that did not produce cosmetics during the war. It began to advertise cosmetics again in 1945. As with some other industrial advertising, the ad served a dual purpose of promoting products and building public morale. What message about the future does the ad convey?

The Apple Song

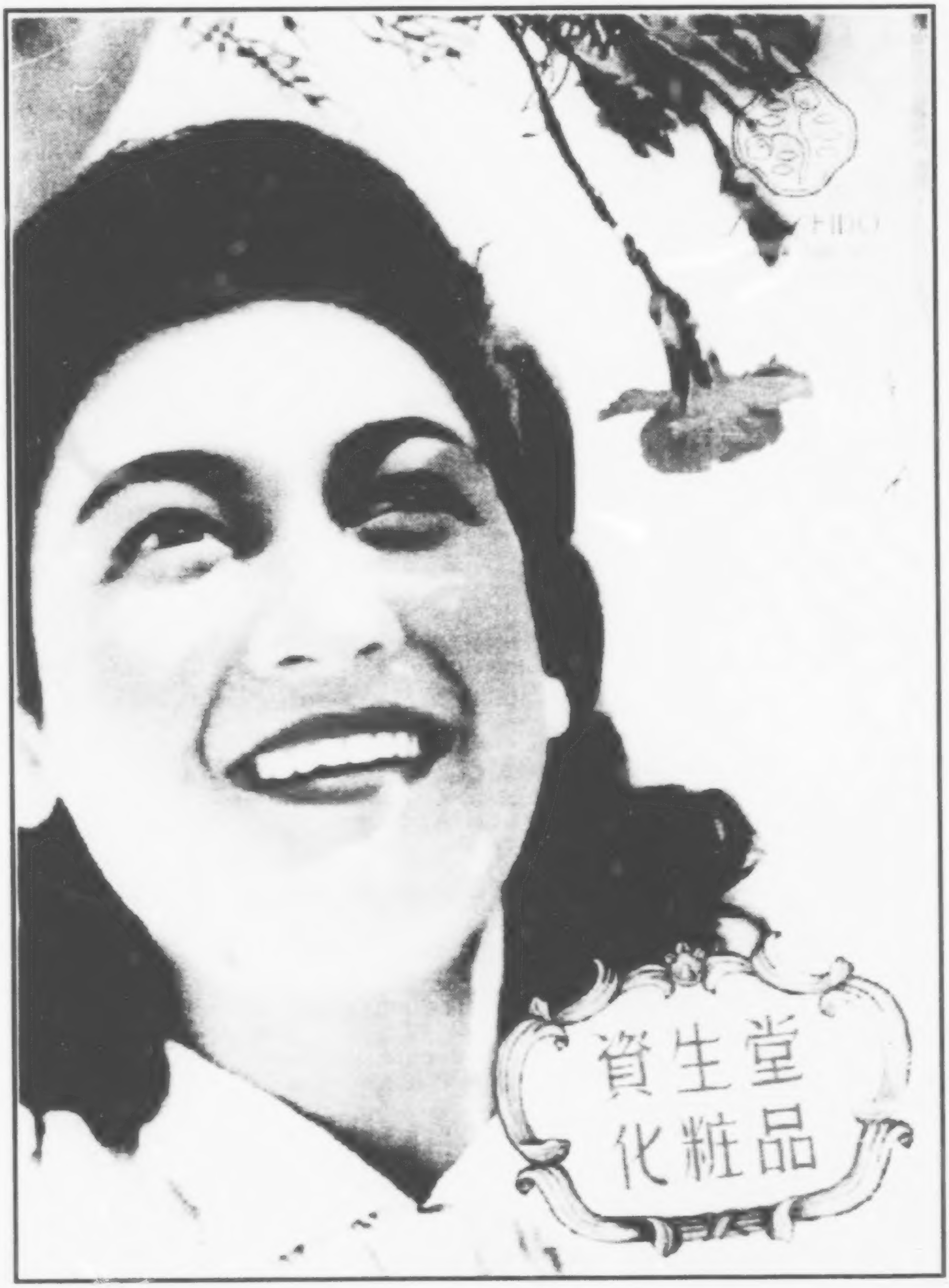
Red apple on my lips,
silently watching the blue sky.
The apple doesn't say a thing;
but the apple's feeling is clear.

The apple is loveable; loveable's the apple.

Shall we sing the apple song?
If two people sing, it's merry.
If everyone sings, it's more and more delightful.
Let's pass on the apple feeling—

The apple's loveable, loveable's the apple.

Source: John W. Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II* (New York: W.W. Norton/The New Press, 1999), pp. 172-173.



Source: Shiseido Co. Ltd., Tokyo. Used by permission.

Experiences of Occupation
Analysis Guide to Documents

For this activity, you will work in groups of two or three students. Each group will receive a section of a document set containing one to four primary and/or secondary sources on the Occupation. Included are letters, posters, cartoons, photographs, and essays. Each section conveys a different aspect or experience of the early Occupation years, from the perspectives of a variety of Japanese people. As a group, read, examine, and analyze the print and visual materials you receive. Use the study guide below to discuss your source materials in your group. Following work time, members of your group will join new groups to share experiences of the Occupation.

1. Do the documents in your group seem to represent experiences or attitudes of a particular segment of society—such as families, businessmen, laborers, government, rural Japanese, city Japanese? If so, who is represented?

2. If your group has artwork or other visuals to examine, how do these sources use activity, humor, or other techniques to create a message about the Occupation? Why do you think these images were chosen by the artist? What emotions do they elicit from you, the viewer?

3. Consider the various sources in your section together. What issues, concerns, and goals are conveyed? What emotions and reactions to the Occupation and rebuilding are expressed?

4. As you move into a new group with students who have examined other materials, your job will be to take the "voice" of the group of people represented in your documents. Be prepared to speak as a member of the group to present your story about the Occupation.

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A Japanese History Textbook Addresses the Occupation

The following is an excerpt from a 1990s Japanese junior high school text on Japanese history, entitled Tokyo Shoseki. *The translation is provided by the International Society for Educational Information in Tokyo.*

1. Occupation and the Democratization of Japan

Japan's Defeat and People's Lives. After the war, the devastated cities were flooded with people who had lost their houses, people who had been repatriated from overseas,[1] and soldiers who were demobilized, looking for places to live and work. The food shortages had worsened near the end of the war but became even more serious after the war was over. A decline in industrial output led to runaway inflation and increased cost of living. That made securing a livelihood even more difficult.

While their lives were painful and full of anxiety, the people's hopes lay in rebuilding Japan as a peaceful, democratic, civilized country.

Occupation and Democratization Policy. Shortly after Japan accepted the Potsdam Declaration, the Allied Forces, mainly of the United States forces, were stationed in Japan, and Japan signed the instrument of surrender. Japan's territory was confined to Honshu, Hokkaido, Kyushu, Shikoku, and nearby small islands.[2] The Japanese government was under the direction of the General Headquarters of the Allied Powers (GHQ), led by the U.S. General MacArthur as Supreme Commander (SCAP).

GHQ issued a series of orders to make extensive reforms. First it ordered that the military disband and arrested soldiers and politicians suspected of being war criminals, to bring them before a military tribunal.[3] Professional soldiers and people who had occupied important positions during the war were ousted from public office. The Maintenance of the Public Order Act was abolished, and all those who had been imprisoned as political offenders were released from prison.

Source: *Japan in Modern History*, 1994 (International Society for Educational Information, Shinko Ojisom 5F, 20-3 San'ei-cho, Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo 160-0008, Japan, 1994), pp. 163-167. Used by permission.

[1] In particular, Manchuria, which was attacked by the Soviet army just before the end of the war, was in utter confusion. Japanese there could not return to Japan until the following year, and in the meanwhile people in the former Pioneer Groups experienced the tragedy of family partings. About 600,000 Japanese soldiers stationed in Manchuria were sent to forced labor in Siberia for several years, although they were not prisoners of war. More than 69,000 died there.

[2] Many Koreans remained in Japan and were treated as foreigners residing in Japan.

[3] The Far East International Military Tribunal started in May 1946; decisions were handed down on twenty-five people, including former Prime Minister Tojo Hideki, in November 1948. Seven people were sentenced to death and the rest to imprisonment.

Freedom of speech, publication, and association was approved so long as it did not hamper Occupation policies. Thus, political parties, including socialist and communist parties, revived and started operation. The election law was also amended to give all men and women above twenty years old the right to vote. Women, who thus acquired the franchise for the first time, took great interest in politics, and a host of women were elected Diet members in the first general election after the war.

On January 1, 1946, the emperor himself declared that he denied his divinity.[4] Until then, the people of Japan had been taught that the emperor was of divine descent.

Dissolution of the *Zaibatsu* and Land Reform. Major reforms were made in Japan's economic and social systems. The policy of doing away with the *zaibatsu*, the family-controlled industrial combines, was implemented in 1945 (this policy is known as the **dissolution of the zaibatsu**).[5] The *zaibatsu*, such as Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Sumitomo, and Yasuda, had controlled Japanese industry and the economy and supported Japan's imperialistic policies.

In farming villages, **land reform** started in 1946. The reform did away with the landlord-tenant farmer relationship, which had caused such suffering among poor farmers. Many tenant farmers acquired their own land.

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[4] The imperial estate was largely nationalized. Shinto was separated from the state, and the nation was prohibited from treating shrines specially.

[5] In 1947, laws prohibiting a small number of major companies from monopolizing economic power (such as the Antimonopoly Act) were adopted.

3

Embracing Democracy: Popularizing of Democratic Values

Introduction: Arguably, the most significant legacy of the Occupation for both Japan and the United States was the issuing of a new Japanese constitution—the Constitution of 1947, also known as the Showa Constitution (after the emperor) or the MacArthur Constitution. The United States set a new constitution as a major goal of the Occupation. MacArthur assigned the Japanese Diet to write a new constitution, but their draft was unsatisfactory to him because it did not make fundamental changes to the political system. SCAP, the U.S. political-military administration of the Occupation in Japan, assembled a committee of SCAP staff, all Americans, to write a totally new constitution for Japan. Among the landmark provisions of this document were (1) the redefinition of the emperor from sacred leader of the country to symbolic (but powerless) head of state, (2) universal suffrage, (3) a progressive delineation of the rights of citizens, and (4) Article 9, the prohibition of war as a national policy.

Over the years, Japanese and Americans alike have criticized this constitution as a document that imposed foreign political and legal concepts on an occupied people in the name of democracy. John Dower, in *Embracing Defeat*, has given the process of promulgating this constitution the oxymoronic title "democracy from above." Many in Japan and the United States assumed that the constitution would be dismantled as soon as the Occupation ended and Japanese had the freedom to write their own document. Although the constitution is continuously debated, however, it has never been amended (as of January 2002).

How did Japanese people make this constitution and its underlying principles their own? This complicated question is the subject of much scholarly and political discussion. Students explore the Japanese people's adoption, or embrace, of the constitution in this lesson and Lesson 4. We recommend that teachers use these two lessons together.

Objectives: At the conclusion of this lesson, students will be able to:

1. Identify and discuss changes in the Japanese political and social systems brought about by the Constitution of 1947.
2. Consider processes through which Japanese were encouraged to identify with and value a constitution imposed by a foreign occupying nation.
3. Analyze the role of public campaigns, propaganda, and formal and informal education in socializing and politicizing citizens.
4. Apply knowledge to create a persuasive poster.

Time Required: 2-3 class periods, plus homework

Materials: Enough copies of Handout 3A for one-eighth of the class to have each poster—all students will need the first page of the handout and the Handout Answer Key; copies of Handouts 3B through 3D for all students; Transparency 3A (on unit CD-ROM); computer and projector; butcher or poster paper; markers

Procedure:

Part I: Educating for a Democracy

1. Review with students the American objectives for the Occupation as discussed in Lesson 2—the demilitarization and democratization of Japan. Inform students that the most significant legacy of the Occupation was arguably the new constitution of 1947. Using **Background Notes 1**, give an overview of the process by which the 1947 constitution was written. Key points to include are:

- MacArthur's directive to the Japanese government to revise the constitution of 1889.
- MacArthur's dissatisfaction with the minor changes Japanese politicians made.
- MacArthur's directive to a SCAP committee to write a new constitution in six days.
- The social and political philosophies of the New Deal that motivated the constitution's American authors, as well as key provisions of the new constitution.

Explain to students that, in the remainder of this lesson, they will look at the constitution devised by the American occupiers for Japan and begin to consider processes by which the Japanese people came to understand, accept, and identify with this new constitution.

2. Tell the class that the constitution written by SCAP was such a radical departure from Japan's political tradition that a massive campaign was necessary to inform and educate people throughout the country as to what was expected of them as "citizens" in a democracy, rather than subjects in an absolute monarchy. One technique that SCAP used was dropping leaflets throughout the Japanese countryside to alert rural citizens to the new constitution. Another effort, undertaken with assistance from the Japanese government, was a political poster campaign to educate Japanese adults about the changes in their political lives—both rights and responsibilities. Eight posters on the constitution were developed and displayed widely in Japan between 1947 and 1949.

3. Divide the class into eight groups, giving each group one poster reproduction from Handout 3A. Explain that the top section of each poster depicts pre-surrender Japanese society, as interpreted by SCAP, and the bottom illustrates specific changes brought about by the new constitution. In this activity, each group will simulate the process of learning about the constitution much as ordinary Japanese did in the late 1940s. Each group's assignment is to infer the specific political changes from prewar to post-surrender Japan that the poster is addressing. The analysis guide (page 1 of the handout) will help.

Allow students 10 minutes to discuss the posters in their groups. Next, distribute the Handout 3A Answer Key to students. Explain that the answer key provides the SCAP explanation of each poster, written at the time. Allow time for students to consider the language and tone of the messages and to compare their understanding of their poster with the official explanation.

4. Distribute Handout 3B. Working with Handouts 3A and 3B, each group should identify the articles and chapters in the 1947 constitution their poster addresses. Alert students that more than one section of the constitution may be incorporated into a poster. What additional information from the constitution helps clarify the poster? Allow 10 minutes for this task.

5. Ask each group to pick a spokesperson to present group findings to the entire class. Check correct answers with the **Handout 3B Answer Key**. In class discussion of all eight posters, ask students to consider the following:

- How do these posters compare with public literacy campaigns or other public awareness campaigns in this country, both now and through history? Give examples.
- How significant were changes from Japan's old society to the new society to be governed by the 1947 constitution?
- Based on your work with previous lessons in this unit, how do you think Japanese people reacted to such political and social changes, and why?

6. (Optional) Return to Handout 3B and direct students' attention to Chapter I, "The Emperor," and Chapter II, "Renunciation of War." Instruct the students that, as a group, they should read these two sections, choose one, and construct a "before and after" poster using text and pictures to educate the rest of the class on their interpretation of this part of the constitution. Each group should present its poster to the class.

7. Explain that, throughout the postwar years, Japanese people made this 1947 constitution, and the democratic principles underlying it, their own. How did they interpret and act on their new democratic rights? Ask students to keep this question in mind as you continue with this unit.

Part II: Embracing Democracy

1. Explain that for Japan—a country undergoing a radical shift in national political and social structure—a vital component in ensuring the constitution and democracy was to educate Japan's next generations, the children who would govern Japan after the Occupation ended. Ask students to comment on how young people are taught to embrace the U.S. political system and U.S. political values. What do they think is the most fundamental tool in this process? Lead students to a recognition of the critical role of education in helping them understand their rights and responsibilities in the United States and respect U.S. political processes, including the system's avenues for dissent and protest. Ask if students can name specific practices in elementary and secondary schools that promote this process. *Students may note courses in civics, government, and history; school, state, and national competitions; education about and observation of national holidays—particularly in elementary school—as well as songs and the Pledge of Allegiance.*

Explain that political education had been an important tool of the Japanese government in mobilizing Japanese before and during the war. Through a variety of mechanisms, the government had inspired reverence for the emperor, loyalty, and sacrifice from its people. The effectiveness of prewar and wartime Japanese political education efforts was a key concern for the Occupation forces, and political education was equally important in the immediate postwar years, but with the opposite goals of achieving democratization and demilitarization.

2. To get a glimpse of prewar political education, introduce Japan's Imperial Rescript on Education, written during the Meiji period, as Japan modernized and the Japanese government undertook campaigns to build a feeling of nationhood and national pride among the Japanese people. The Imperial Rescript was written within a year of our Pledge of Allegiance, which was created to serve a comparable purpose in the United States. Using **Background Notes 2**, explain the background of the Imperial Rescript. Next, distribute Handout 3C, focusing students= attention on the Imperial Rescript. Ask students to analyze the document as outlined in the directions. Discuss findings with students, using the **Handout 3C Answer Key** as a guide.

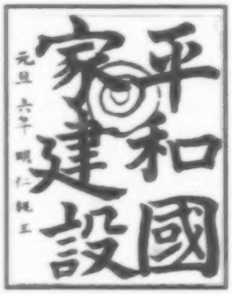
3. Ask for a volunteer to identify what was going on in Japan and Asia in the 1930s, when Japan was engaged in territorial takeover in Asia. By 1938, Japan had invaded and occupied China and other Asian countries. As Japan moved further into war, instilling patriotism

and support for the war effort throughout society was critical. It may have been most important among young men, who would provide the fighting forces for the war effort.

Have a student volunteer read aloud the second document in Handout 3C, which presents ideas about patriotism promulgated by a Japanese textbook in the 1930s. Conduct a class discussion comparing the tone and messages of the Imperial Rescript and the 1930s text, asking:

- Do you see change or continuity in the messages across time?
- How are students taught to feel about the emperor? What is the connection between emperor and country in these two documents?
- What effect on students would constant repetition of the Imperial Rescript over 10 years of elementary and secondary school have?
- How do you think the American occupying forces reacted to the Imperial Rescript and some Japanese textbooks? *Students should be able to draw from Lesson 1 to talk about U.S. censorship of Japanese textbooks during the Occupation.*

4. Next, move to a consideration of how the Occupation forces and Japanese government used similar educational vehicles for political ***re-education*** following Japan's surrender. Show students Transparency 3A, explaining that, according to historian John Dower, the most popular slogan among Japanese in the post-surrender days was "Heiwa Kokka Kensetsu: Construct a Nation of Peace." Schools used this phrase as practice for student calligraphy lessons. The sample below, which received a circle of approval from the teacher, is the calligraphy of this phrase done by 12-year-old Crown Prince Akihito shortly after the war ended. Akihito succeeded his father as emperor of Japan in 1989. Briefly discuss the focus questions:


平和國家建設
元旦 六年 明仁親王

- What effect would the use of this phrase in calligraphy classes have on children?
- What would be the effect for Japanese children of seeing the Crown Prince's calligraphy of this phrase?
- How is this persuasion technique similar to and different from techniques used in the Imperial Rescript or the 1930s textbook?

5. Distribute Handout 3D, explaining that it contains excerpts from a famous Japanese children's book published in 1949, two years after the constitution was adopted. Inform students that the book was written by Kanamori Tokujiro, a leading member of Japan's government in the immediate postwar years. Kanamori had been an author of the Japanese constitutional revision that MacArthur rejected. He had fought for maintaining the sacred power of the emperor in the final negotiations on the constitution in 1947. In other words, he was a conservative opponent of the constitution or democracy in the early postwar years. By 1949, however, his children's book tells a different story.

As a class, look at the Introduction and Table of Contents. Discuss the author's intent. What is the tone of the author's message? Discuss the Table of Contents—which chapters look typical for a book on government? Which chapter names seem unusual?

For homework, have students read all selections from *A Story About the Constitution* provided in Handout 3D. Ask students to consider how the illustrations, which the author felt were essential to the story he was telling, help support the text's message. Ask students to make notes from their reading on techniques used to create a bond between readers and the new constitution and how these techniques and the tone and information in the book compare to the constitution posters that students analyzed at the beginning of this lesson.

6. Following the homework assignment, spend 10 to 15 minutes in class discussing the children's book, paying special attention to the topics above. Some points to address might include: the emphasis on feelings about country, emperor, and national symbols; the discussion of the emperor in the story; emphasis on and warnings about the future; the use of terms such as *gift* to describe the constitution. The affective tone of the story contrasts to the more straightforward presentation of the constitution posters for adults, which emphasized changes and benefits of the new system; the story addressed a broader concept of "citizen."

7. Ask students to form small groups for a culminating or assessment task, creating a poster of "An Ideal Citizen in Postwar Japan." Distribute poster paper and markers. Ask students to use what they have learned about persuasive posters and public awareness campaigns, as well as their knowledge of democratic and constitutional change in Japan under the Occupation, to brainstorm the attributes of a good Japanese citizen during the Occupation years. Students should then link these attributes with parts of the body. For example, hands would be necessary to complete a ballot on election day, eyes to read the news and be a well-informed citizen, and so on. In groups, students are to draw a figure of a person, then label body parts and how they would be used by a good citizen. Have students share posters and discuss at the end of class.

Recommended Films: *No Regrets for Our Youth*, a 1946 film by Kurosawa Akira, is considered by some critics to be the best example of the Occupation's democratization films. Based on actual cases—the 1933 persecution of a Kyoto University professor for his liberal views and the 1941 Ozaki-Sorge Spy Ring case, which resulted in the execution of two men as Russian spies—the film becomes a postwar rejection of the national policies that had led Japan to war and ultimately to defeat. The focus is on dissenters who stood for intellectual and political freedom in the struggle against Japan's aggressive militarism. The main character is Yukie, the professor's intelligent and cultured but sheltered daughter. When she falls in love with and follows Noge, one of the professor's more radical students, her secure university world changes. She is transformed from a traditional, submissive, apolitical daughter to a strong-willed idealistic woman ready to work and sacrifice for her beliefs. The film's last 38 minutes dramatically show her transformation to a person who represents the new spirit and future of the Japanese people.

Also applicable to this lesson is the documentary *Occupied Japan: An Experiment in Democracy* (PBS Video, 1996), which challenges the established view that the changes in Japan were due primarily to American Occupation policy. The video presents excellent interviews of both Japanese and Americans who played important roles during the Occupation.

Japan's 1947 Constitution

Political scientists generally concur that, for a constitution to work, it must be in accord with the nation's history, traditions, and sociopolitical values. Given this rule of thumb, the experiences of the United States and contemporary Japan make an intriguing comparative study of two very different countries functioning effectively under constitutions created by Americans.

The Showa or MacArthur Constitution of 1947, imposed upon Japan by SCAP under Douglas MacArthur, effected a radical break with Japan's past—its national history, philosophy, and political values.

In the Occupation of Japan, MacArthur sought to eliminate the authoritarianism and militarism that had made Japan's role in World War II possible and to provide in its stead a basis for stable, peaceful, and democratic government. Toward this end, MacArthur instructed the Japanese government to substantially revise the Meiji Constitution that had been in place since 1889. Japanese politicians, essentially satisfied with the existing document, made only minor and, to MacArthur, wholly unsatisfactory revisions. MacArthur then assigned to his American staff the task of drafting a completely new document to govern Japan. Not surprisingly, the document that was finally produced responded to American experience and ideals, often in complete contradiction of Japan's history, traditions, and value system.

The document, written in English and translated into Japanese, superimposed political concepts such as popular sovereignty, equality before the law, balance of powers, and individual rights on a society that had operated under quite different, even contradictory, political and social structures for hundreds of years. The significant gap between Japanese political and social reality on the one hand, and the provisions of the new constitution on the other hand, made that document a truly alien blueprint for Japanese government when it was adopted in 1947.

The 1947 Constitution established a government based on popular sovereignty in a nation firmly rooted in the principle of the sovereignty and divinity of its emperor. It mandated the separation of church and state to a nation in which Shinto—a religion very different in form and substance from Western religions—had come to be acknowledged as a state religion. In its chapter on rights and duties, the 1947 document detailed and guaranteed a broad spectrum of individual rights—a cornerstone of the U.S. political philosophy—to a society that de-emphasized the individual and had no indigenous tradition of individual entitlement as distinct from societal welfare.

Given the benchmarks of a viable constitution, Japan's 1947 Constitution should not have lasted long past the conclusion of the Allied Occupation in 1952. In observing the very obvious gaps between the new constitution and Japanese tradition, informed observers widely predicted that the 1947 Constitution and the government it created would steadily be dismantled by Japanese politicians throughout the 1950s. Instead, the evidence indicates that, over the past five decades, the Japanese people and government have increasingly embraced the constitution and made it their own.

Source: Adapted from Lynn S. Parisi, *The Constitution and Individual Rights in Japan: Lessons for Middle and High School Students* (Bloomington, IN: ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies/Social Science Education and National Clearinghouse for United States-Japan Studies, 1992), pp. 2-5. Reproduced by kind permission of the ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies/Social Science Education and the National Clearinghouse for United States-Japan Studies.

As of early 2002, the document is still in place with no major modifications. While aspects of the document are currently under debate, such debate reflects the seriousness with which the Japanese consider the document. Why and how did a document articulating a philosophy and structure of government and society so alien to the Japanese become established in that country? There are several theses to explain the relative longevity and effectiveness of Japan's current constitution.

According to political scientist John Maki, a key to understanding the durability of this foreign-designed and -imposed constitution lies in understanding the Japanese psyche during a unique period in the nation's history. In the period following World War II, the Japanese were traumatized and humiliated by their military defeat. Disillusioned with the government that had led them into a disastrous war, the Japanese people rejected the traditional order and sought to distance themselves from their past. Rather than reject the 1947 Constitution as alien, the Japanese responded by using it as a blueprint and tool for reforming and redefining their society.[i]

Analyzing the 1947 Constitution from a cultural and linguistic perspective, Kyoko Inoue presents a contrasting explanation for the endurance of the 1947 Constitution. According to Inoue's analysis, Japanese translators of the 1947 document, written originally in English, encountered political concepts of which they had no knowledge. They translated these concepts in ways consistent with their own knowledge base and Japanese political experience, often with the result that the translation had a different meaning than the American authors had intended. For example, the English version of Article 24 of "The Rights and Duties of the People" established equality of the sexes, a radical break from fundamental Japanese values and social organization. Yet, when translated into Japanese, this article took on the substantially different meaning of fulfillment of each sex within proper roles—a meaning compatible with Japanese tradition.

Inoue concludes that if the Japanese had really understood the democratic ideas of the U.S. version of the constitution, it would have been very difficult for them to accept the document. And, if MacArthur had understood the Japanese translations, he would not have approved the final version. The ultimate acceptance of the document was a reflection of mutual misunderstanding and misinterpretation by the Japanese and Americans.

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[i] Maki, John, "The Japanese Constitutional Style" in Dan Henderson, ed., *The Constitution of Japan: Its First Twenty Years, 1947-67* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1968).

The Imperial Rescript on Education, 1890

The Rescript on Education was issued by Emperor Meiji in October 1890, about a year after the issuance of Japan's first constitution. The document was drafted by three Meiji statesmen, all of whom shared a commitment to creating a national identity that emphasized and idealized conservative Confucian values such as reverence for ancestors, reverence for tradition, filial piety (respect for parents and family), and respect for authority.

According to the Rescript on Education, the goal of education was to instill among young Japanese a sense of Confucian moral duty and respect for the emperor, society, and the family while promoting a sense of national tradition and heritage, national identity, and patriotism. The document was very conservative in tone, reflecting a reaction against the rapid modernization and Westernization of the early Meiji period and a desire to return to traditional Japanese values and customs.

Within months of the issuance of the Rescript on Education, the Meiji government sent copies of the oath to all schools in the country. From the 1890s through World War II, Japanese schoolchildren memorized and recited the Rescript on Education. Schoolchildren began their day by bowing to a picture of the emperor and reciting the rescript with their teachers. The rescript was also an important part of school ceremonies. Standing beside a portrait of the emperor, school principals would conduct a formal reading of the rescript to begin important school functions and assemblies. After Japan's defeat in World War II, the Rescript on Education was repudiated by the government as an ultranationalistic doctrine.

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Answer Key for Lesson 3

Handout 3A:

Descriptions of the democracy posters are reprinted below from a publication of the U.S. Army Signal Corps, War Department, Washington, D.C. This publication was released prior to the promulgation of the constitution, to alert U.S. military personnel and other Occupation forces to the content of the posters, which were written in Japanese.

Poster 1

Decentralization of government is stressed in one poster, part of a series prepared by SCAP's government section and the civil information and education section to acquaint the Japanese people of their new rights and responsibilities under the constitution, which will be promulgated May 3. "Then," all appointments, official and unofficial, were made by the central government heads, who also controlled almost all affairs. The central government control reached into all regions and political levels. "Now," the people, represented by a man and woman, elect governors, prefectural officials, and village headmen, and these elected officials take charge of local affairs.

Poster 2

Changes the new constitution makes in the Japanese Diet are shown in this poster, part of a series being shown through Japan in preparation for the constitution's promulgation May 3. SCAP's Civil Information and Education Section and Government Section executed the posters, which are entitled "What the Constitution Means to You as an Individual," to aid the Japanese government in educating the people of their new rights and responsibilities. Before, executive control over the Diet was absolute. Now, control is decentralized.

Poster 3

To aid in campaigns to acquaint the people of Japan with their rights and responsibilities under the new constitution, SCAP's government section and the Civil Information and Education Section have prepared posters contrasting the old wartime society with the new democratic way of life. In a "Then and Now," the emperor on the top pedestal, the nobility, a smaller pedestal next to the emperor, ordinary man on the smallest pedestal, and woman on no pedestal at all. The man and woman comprise "the people." "Now," all the pedestals, loaded on a truck labeled "the constitution," are about to be hauled away. The emperor, the former nobility, man and woman all are on the same level, and all of them are classed as "the people."

Poster 4

Posters explaining the Japanese people's new rights and responsibilities under the constitution which will be promulgated May 3 have been prepared by SCAP's Government Section and the Civil Information and Education Section. Under the old regime, army and naval departments of the cabinet controlled the body. Under the new constitution, cabinet members (including one woman) are all on the same level. All are civilians. On the elevated desk where the military had presided stands a vase of flowers.

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Poster 5

Japanese people are learning of their new rights and responsibilities under the constitution, to be promulgated May 3, through posters prepared by SCAP's Government Section and the Civil Information and Education Section. The "Then and Now" series contrasts former supremacy of officials, who were approached in humility bearing gifts, with officials under the new constitution. Now they are the people's employees and all are on the same level.

Poster 6

"What the constitution means to you as an individual," a collection of posters being distributed throughout Japan to acquaint the Japanese people with their new rights and responsibilities under the constitution, features one depicting the "Then and Now" of household life. Before, the husband controlled his wife, arranged his children's marriages, supervised the household and conducted all business affairs. Now, man and wife share equally the household responsibilities and "their marriage is by mutual agreement."

Poster 7

Japanese are learning of their new religious freedom and other rights and privileges which will be theirs when the constitution is promulgated May 3. In a series of posters prepared by SCAP's Government Section and the Civil Information and Education Section, they are shown that under the old setup their religion had been foisted upon them in the form of state controlled Shinto. Now the constitution allows them to worship as they please—in Christian churches, Buddhist Temples, or Shinto Shrines.

Poster 8

Uncontrolled spending of pre-surrender days is contrasted with the regulated expenditures under the new constitution in a poster which is part of a series entitled "What the Constitution Means to You as an Individual," which was prepared by SCAP's Civil Information and Education Section and Government Section. The posters are being circulated throughout Japan to acquaint the people with their new rights and responsibilities under the new constitution. Formerly, taxes paid by the people were funneled into an open box where executives controlled all the cash. Now, taxes are deposited in sealed boxes controlled by the Diet, and expenditures are allotted for schools, roads, public health, and other items for the public good.

Answer Key for Lesson 3

Handout 3B:

Poster 1: *Decentralization of government; popular vote: Chapters IV and VII of the Constitution; Chapter III, Article 15.*

Poster 2: *Decentralization of power, limits on executive branch; powers of the Diet: Chapter IV of the Constitution.*

Poster 3: *Changes in the role of the emperor and in hereditary status: Preamble and Chapter 1 of the Constitution; Chapter III, Article 14 of the Constitution.*

Poster 4: *Elimination of military rule, establishment of civilian government and cabinet: Chapter IV of the Constitution.*

Poster 5: *Hierarchical government changed to government of and by the people: Preamble and Chapter I of the Constitution.*

Poster 6: *Equal rights for men and women, equal inheritance, mutual consent marriages, equality in household and business affairs: Chapter III, Article 24 of the Constitution.*

Poster 7: *Shinto no longer state religion; freedom of religion: Preamble and Chapter III, Article 20 of the Constitution.*

Poster 8: *Reform of finances and taxes: Chapter VII of the Constitution.*

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Answer Key for Lesson 3

Handout 3C:

Know ye, Our subjects:

Our Imperial Ancestors have founded Our Empire on a basis broad and everlasting, and have deeply and firmly implanted *virtue**; Our subjects ever *united in loyalty and filial piety* have from generation to generation illustrated the beauty thereof. This is the *glory of the fundamental character of Our Empire*, and herein also lies the source of Our education. Ye, Our subjects, be *filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters*; as husbands and wives be *harmonious*, as friends true; bear yourselves in *modesty and moderation*; extend your *benevolence* to all; *pursue learning* and *cultivate arts*, and thereby develop intellectual faculties and *perfect moral* powers; furthermore *advance public good* and promote common interests; always *respect the Constitution* and *observe the laws*; should emergency arise, *offer yourselves courageously to the State*; and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth. So shall ye not only be Our good and faithful subjects, but render illustrious the *best traditions of your forefathers*.

The Way here set forth is indeed the teaching bequeathed by Our Imperial Ancestors, to be observed alike by Their Descendants and the subjects, infallible for all ages and true in all places. It is Our wish to lay it to heart in all reverence, in common with you, Our subjects, that we may all attain to the same virtue.

*Italicized words and phrases indicate words students should underline.

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Posters on the Constitution of 1947

Analysis Guide

Carefully examine the poster assigned to your group. Remember that the top picture shows pre-surrender Japanese society, as interpreted by SCAP. The bottom section illustrates changes brought about by the new constitution. Look for clues to the specific political and social changes your poster addresses.

The following questions should be useful in guiding your analysis of the poster:

1. What political situations do you think the top picture predicts? Who is in charge? What is the relationship of "the people" to those in charge? What do their facial expressions indicate about this process?

2. What changes in the political situation are conveyed by the bottom picture?

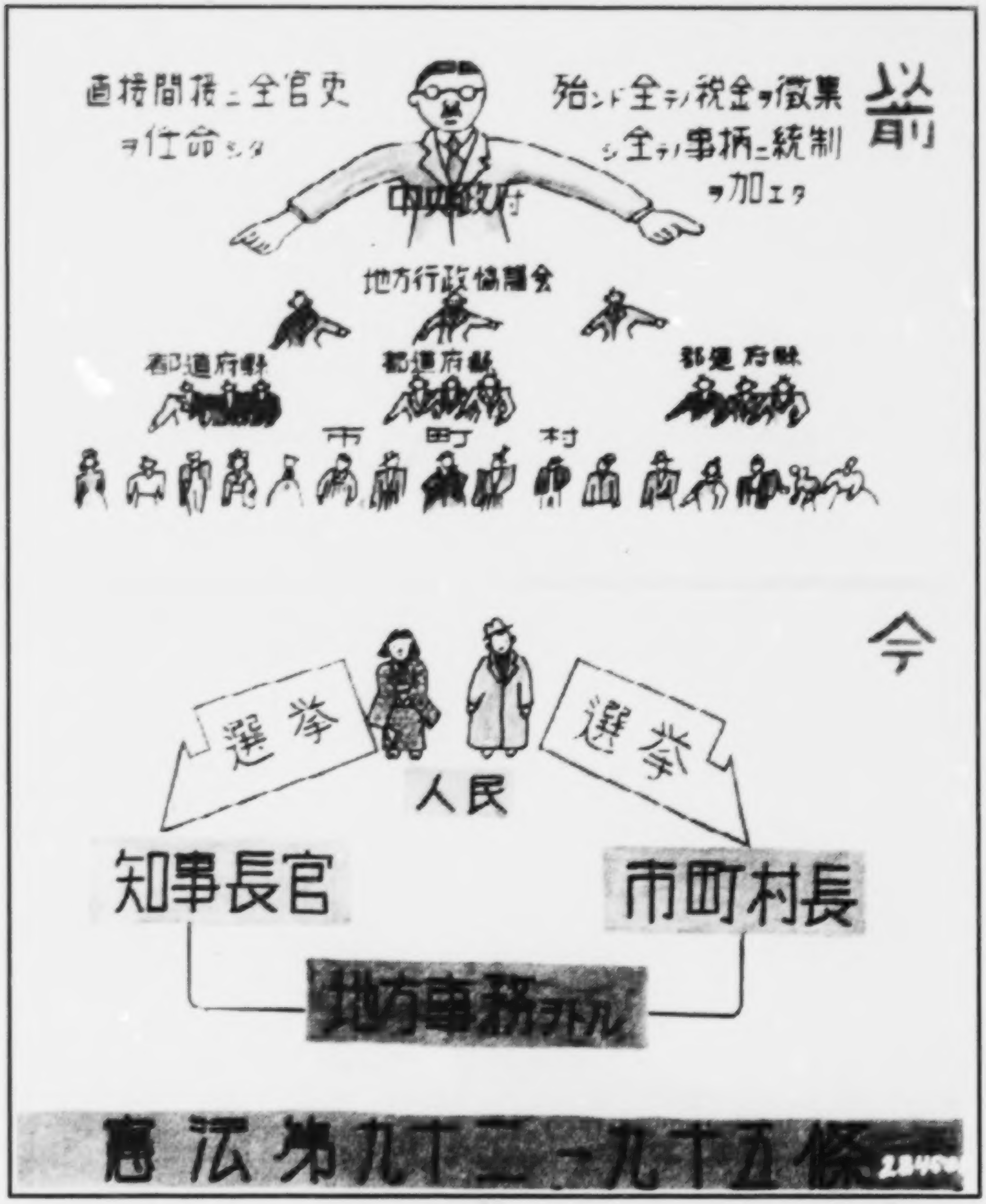
3. How are political relationships and interactions depicted in the sizes and placements of the figures in the top and bottom pictures?

4. Why do you think the poster is presented in pictures, as well as written narrative?

5. A number of the posters depict a man in glasses and mustache. Do you think he represents a particular political figure or a political idea?

6. *If applicable*, what changes in gender roles and responsibilities are reflected in your group's poster?

Poster 1


以前
直接間接ニ全官吏ヲ任命シタ
殆ンド全テノ税金ヲ徴集シ全テノ事柄ニ統制ヲ加エタ
中央政府
地方行政協議会
都道府県
都道府県
都道府県
市
町
村
今
選挙
選挙
人民
知事長官
市町村長
地方事務ヲトル
憲法第九十二－九十五条
28400

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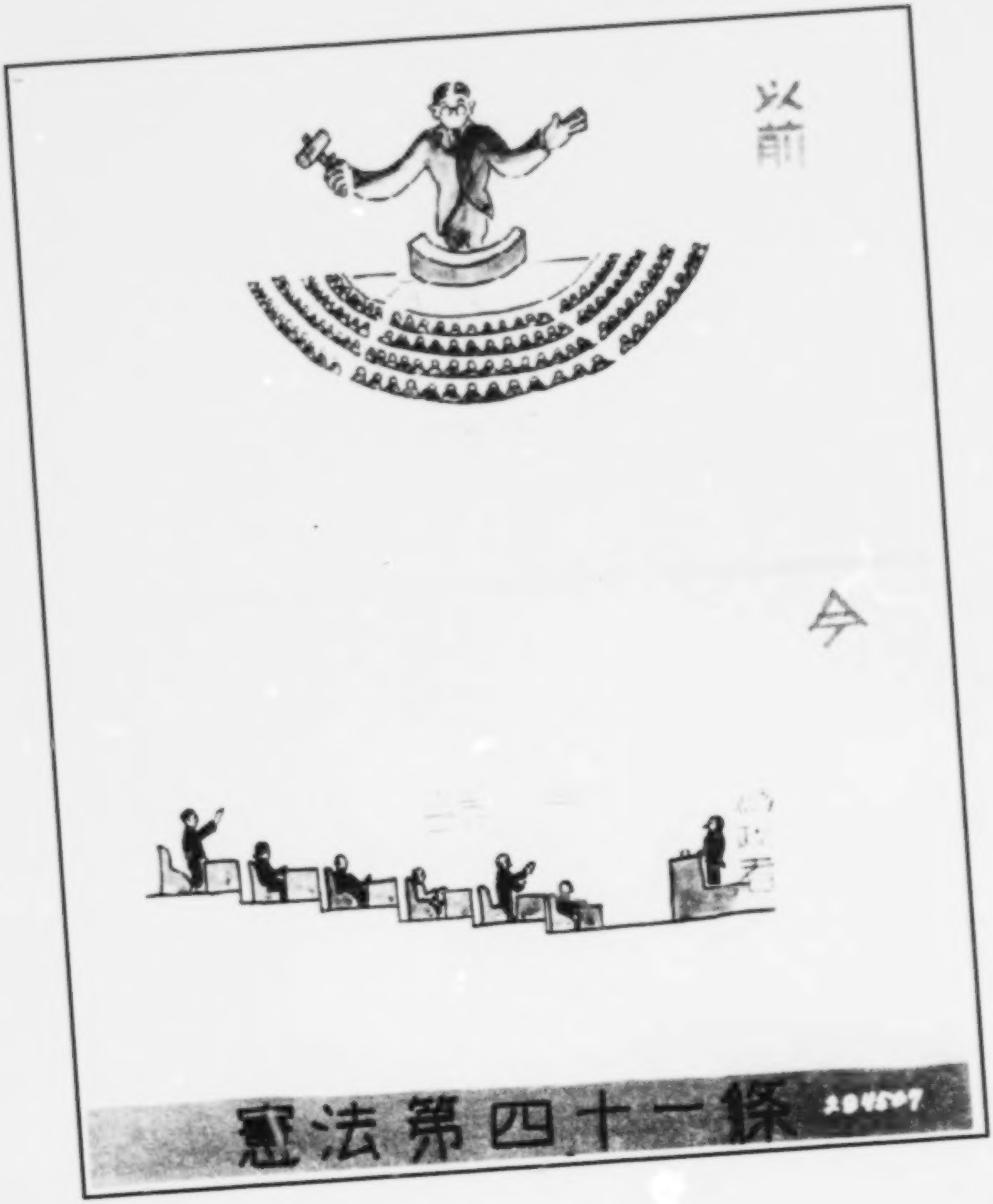
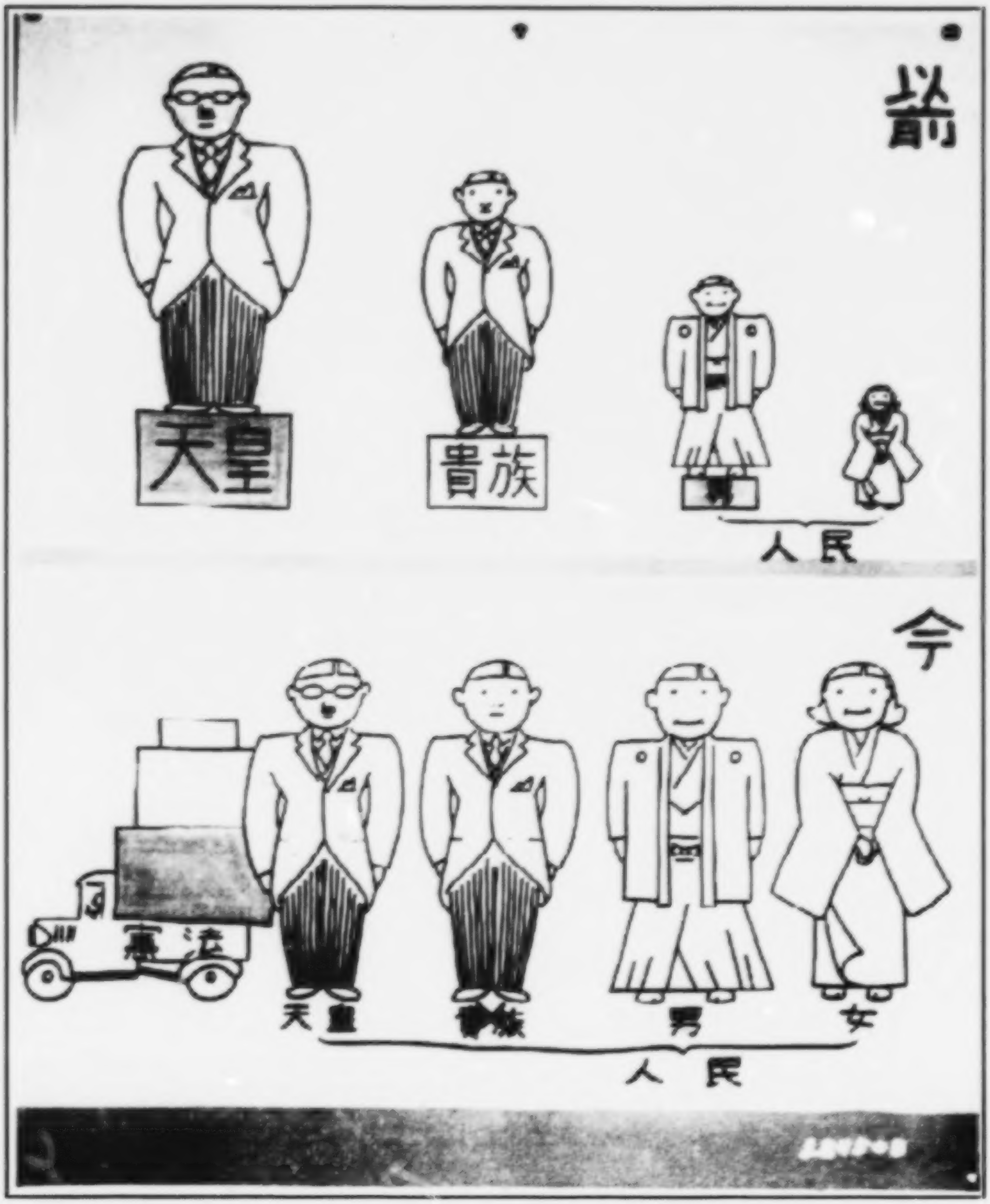
Source: National Archives and Records Administration.

Poster 2

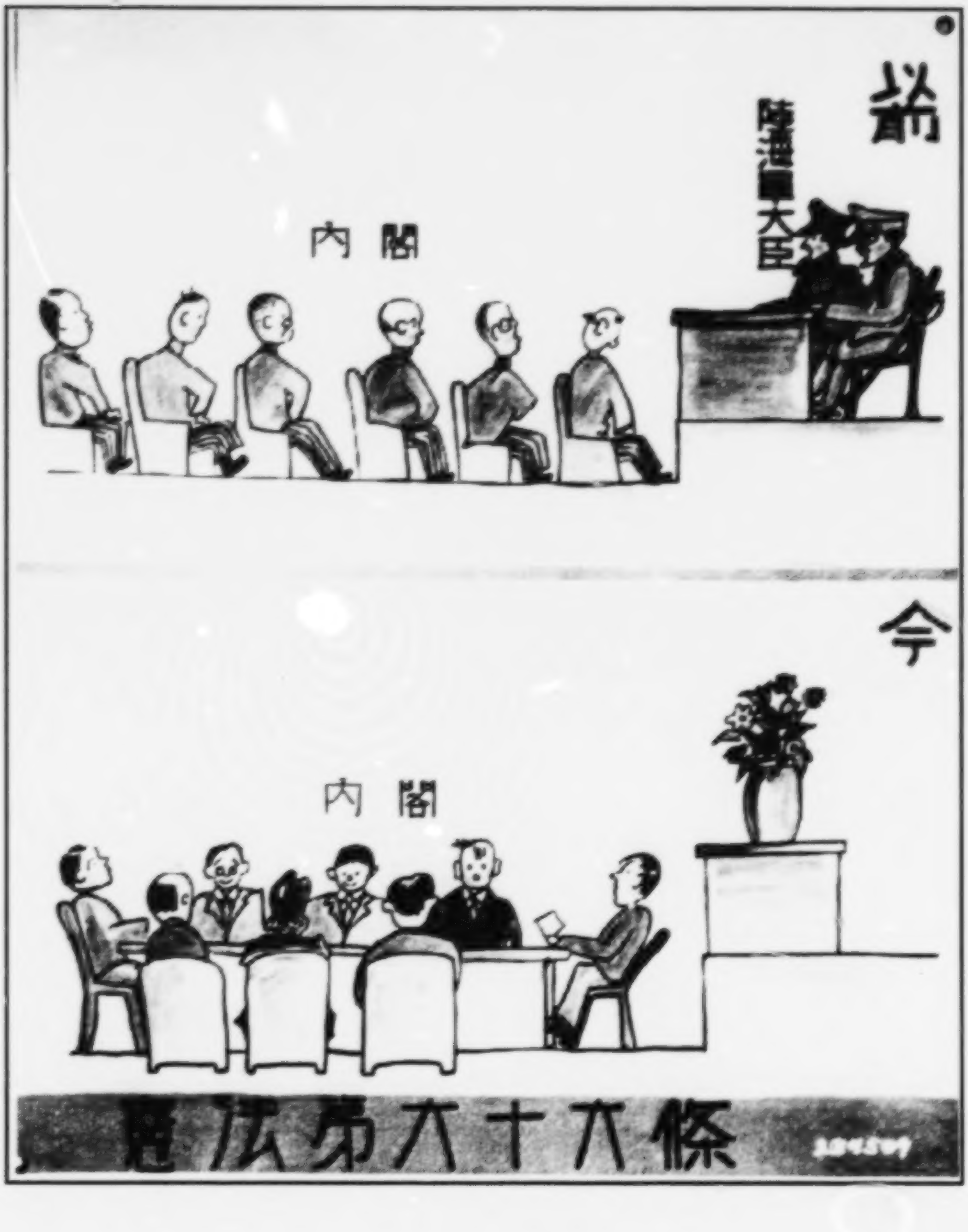

以前
今
憲法第四十一條

© 2002 SSEC

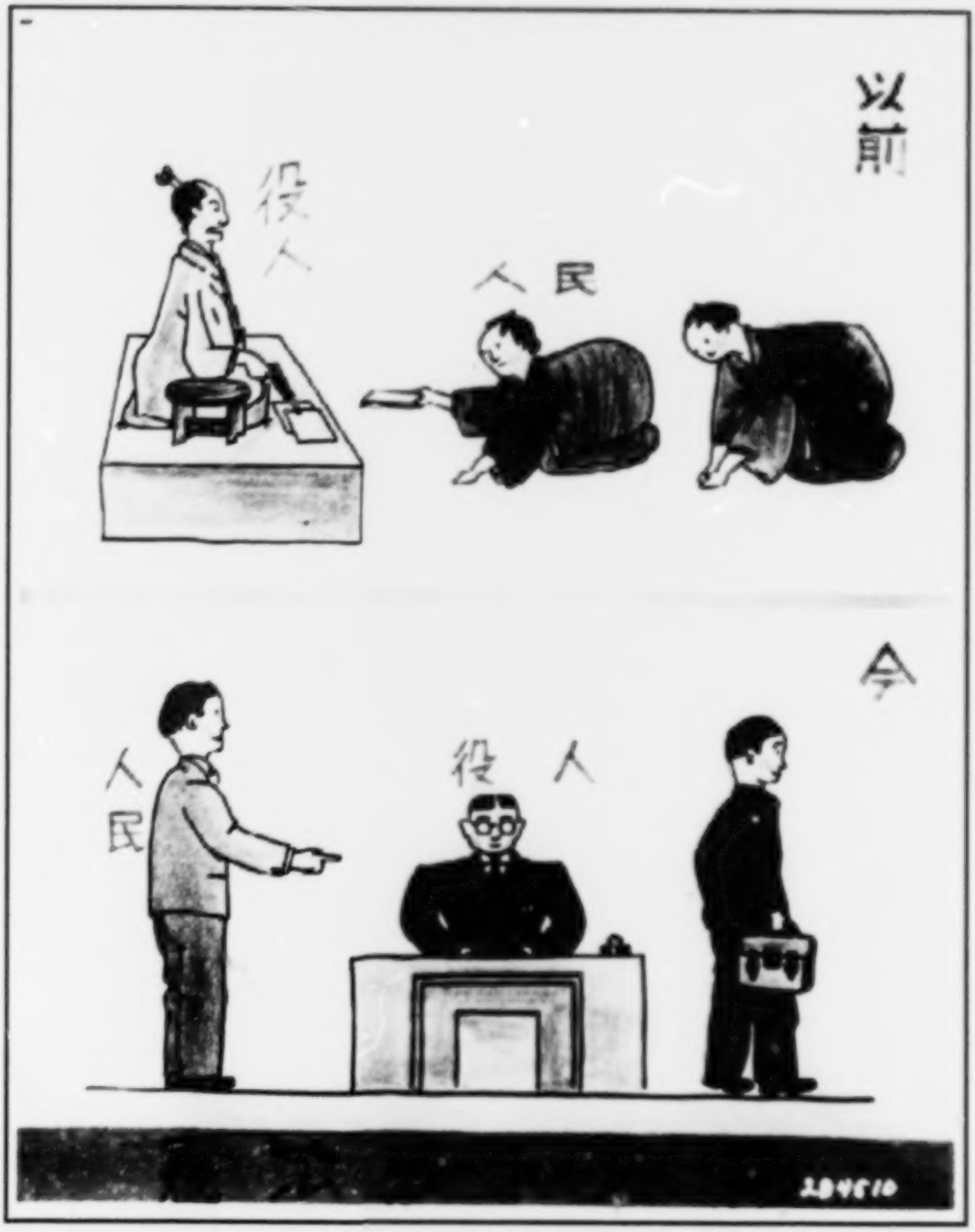
Poster 3


以前
天皇
貴族
男
人民
今
憲法
天皇
貴族
男
女
人民

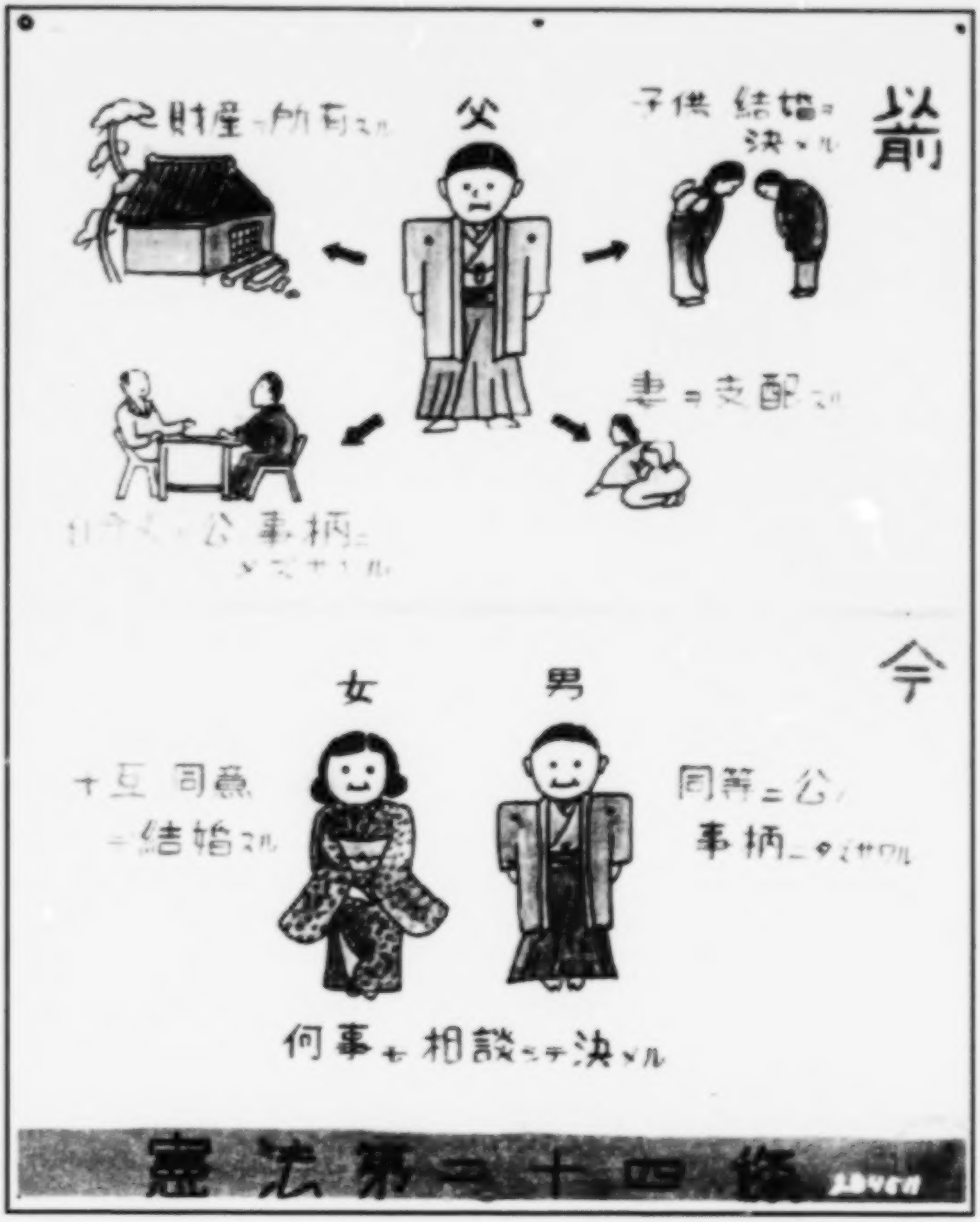
Poster 4


以前
陸海軍大臣
内閣
今
内閣
憲法第六十六條

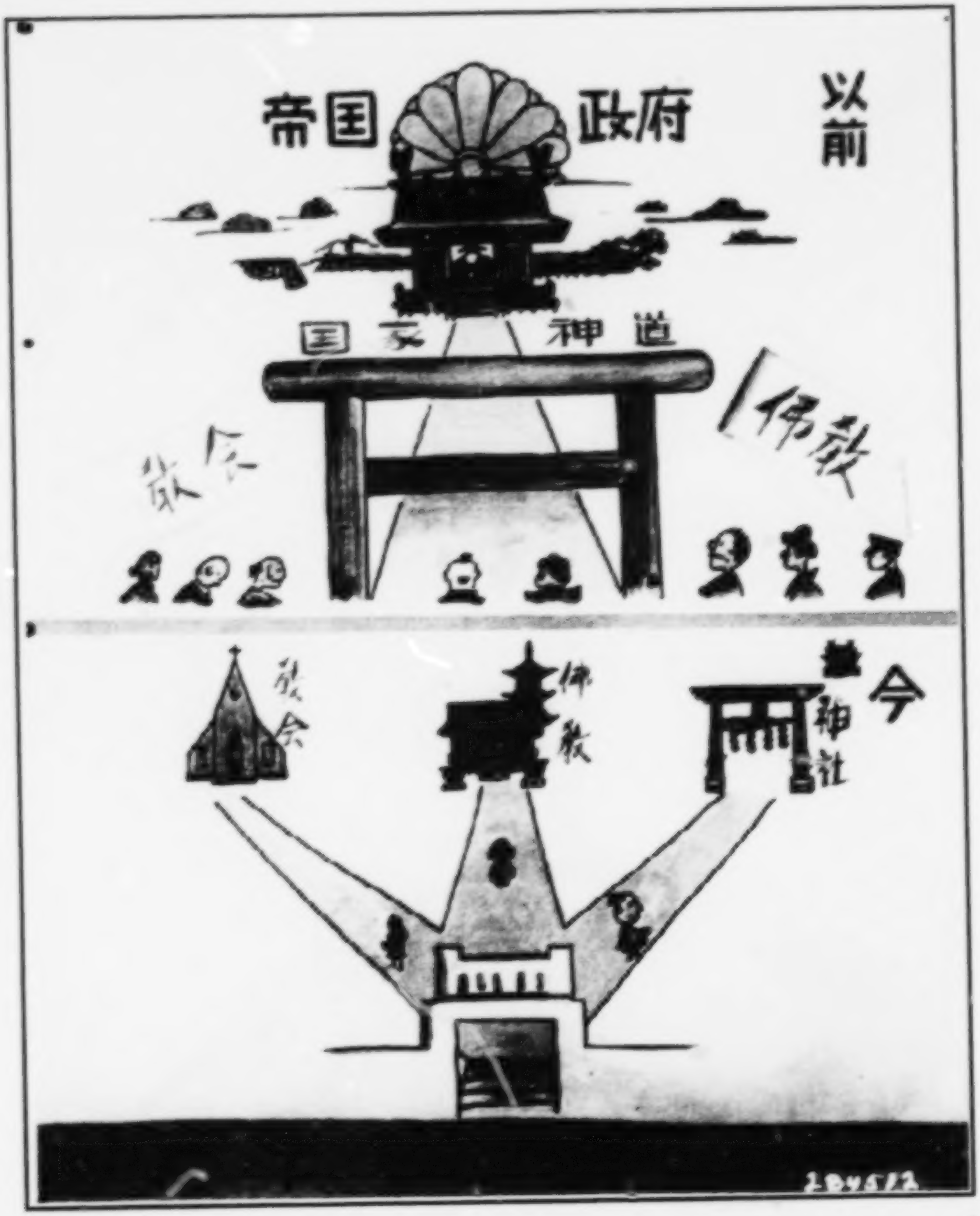
Poster 5


以前
役人
人民
今
人民
役人
284510

Poster 6

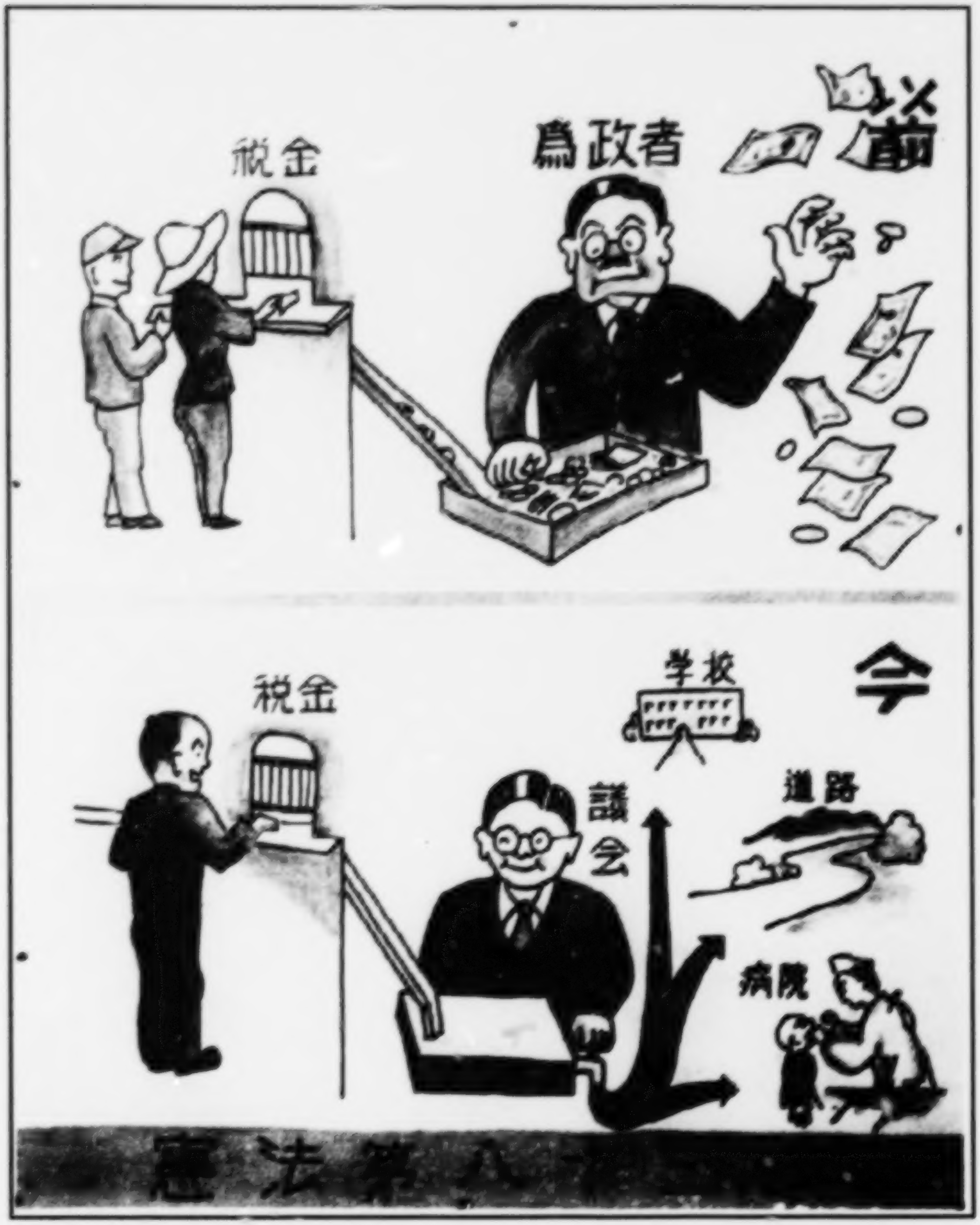

財産ヲ所有スル
父
子供ノ結婚ヲ決メル
以前
妻ヲ支配スル
公ノ事柄ニ タヅサハル
今
女
男
オ互ノ同意デ結婚スル
同等ニ公ノ事柄ニタヅサワル
何事モ相談シテ決メル
憲法第二十四條

Poster 7


帝国政府
以前
国家神道
教会
仏教
教会
仏教
神社
今
2B4512

© 2002 SSEC

Poster 8


昔
為政者
税金
今
学校
税金
議会
道路
病院
憲法第八

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Excerpts from the Constitution of Japan, 1947

We, the Japanese people, acting through our duly elected representatives in the National Diet, determined that we shall secure for ourselves and our posterity the fruits of peaceful cooperation with all nations and the blessings of liberty throughout this land, and resolved that never again shall we be visited with the horrors of war through the action of government, do proclaim that sovereign power resides with the people and do firmly establish this Constitution. Government is a sacred trust of the people, the authority for which is derived from the people, the powers of which are exercised by the representatives of the people, and the benefits of which are enjoyed by the people. This is a universal principle of mankind upon which this Constitution is founded. We reject and revoke all constitutions, laws, ordinances and rescripts in conflict herewith.

We, the Japanese people, desire peace for all time and are deeply conscious of the high ideals controlling human relationship, and we have determined to preserve our security and existence, trusting in the justice and faith of the peace-living peoples of the world. We desire to occupy an honored place in an international society striving for the preservation of peace, and the banishment of tyranny and slavery, oppression and intolerance for all time from the earth. We recognize that all peoples of the world have the right to live in peace, free from fear and want.

We believe that no nation is responsible to itself alone, but that laws of political morality are universal; and that obedience to such laws is incumbent upon all nations who would sustain their own sovereignty and justify their sovereign relationship with other nations.

We, the Japanese people, pledge our national honor to accomplish these high ideals and purposes with all our resources.

Chapter I. The Emperor

Article 1. The Emperor shall be the symbol of the State and of the unity of the people, deriving his position from the will of the people with whom resides sovereign power.

Article 2. The Imperial Throne shall be dynastic and succeeded to in accordance with the Imperial House Law passed by the Diet.

Article 3. The advice and approval of the Cabinet shall be required for all acts of the Emperor in matters of state, and the Cabinet shall be responsible therefor.

Article 4. The Emperor shall perform only such acts in matters of state as may be provided for in this Constitution and he shall not have powers related to government. . . .

Chapter II. Renunciation of War

Article 9. Aspiring sincerely to an international peace based on justice and order, the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as means of settling international disputes.

In order to accomplish the aim of the preceding paragraph, land, sea, and air forces, as well as other war potential, will never be maintained. The right of belligerency of the state will not be recognized.

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Chapter III. Rights and Duties of the People

Article 10. The conditions necessary for being a Japanese national shall be determined by law.

Article 11. The people shall not be prevented from enjoying any of the fundamental human rights. These fundamental human rights guaranteed to the people by this Constitution shall be conferred upon the people of this and future generations as eternal and inviolate rights.

Article 12. The freedoms and rights guaranteed to the people by this Constitution shall be maintained by the constant endeavor of the people, who shall refrain from any abuse of these freedoms and rights and shall always be responsible for utilizing them for the public welfare.

Article 13. All of the people shall be respected as individuals. Their right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness shall, to the extent that it does not interfere with the public welfare, be the supreme consideration in legislation and in other governmental affairs.

Article 14. All of the people are equal under the law and there shall be no discrimination in political, economic, or social relations because of race, creed, sex, social status, or family origin.

Article 15. The people have the inalienable right to choose their public officials and to dismiss them. All public officials are servants of the whole community and not of any group thereof. Universal adult suffrage is guaranteed with regard to the election of public officials. In all elections, secrecy of the ballot shall not be violated. A voter shall not be answerable, publicly or privately, for the choice he has made.

Article 16. Every person shall have the right of peaceful petition for the redress of damage, for the removal of public officials, for the enactment, repeal or amendment of laws, ordinances, or regulations and for other matters; nor shall any person be in any way discriminated against for sponsoring such a petition.

Article 17. Every person may sue for redress as provided by law from the State or a public entity, in case he has suffered damage through illegal act of any public official.

Article 18. No person shall be held in bondage of any kind. Involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, is prohibited.

Article 19. Freedom of thought and conscience shall not be violated.

Article 20. Freedom of religion is guaranteed to all. No religious organization shall receive any privileges from the States, nor exercise any political authority. No person shall be compelled to take part in any religious act, celebration, rite or practice. The State and its organs shall refrain from religious education or any other religious activity.

Article 21. Freedom of assembly and association as well as speech, press and all other forms of expression are guaranteed. No censorship shall be maintained, nor shall the secrecy of any means of communication be violated.

Article 22. Every person shall have freedom to choose and change his residence and to choose his occupation to the extent that it does not interfere with the public welfare. Freedom of all persons to move to a foreign country and to divest themselves of their nationality shall be inviolate.

Article 23. Academic freedom is guaranteed.

Article 24. Marriage shall be based only on the mutual consent of both sexes and it shall be maintained through mutual cooperation with the equal rights of husband and wife as a basis. With regard to choice of spouse, property rights, inheritance, choice of domicile, divorce and other matters pertaining to marriage and the family, laws shall be enacted from the standpoint of individual dignity and the essential equality of the sexes.

Article 25. All people shall have the right to maintain the maximum standards of wholesome and cultured living. In all spheres of life, the State shall use its endeavors for the promotion and extension of social welfare and security, and of public health.

Article 26. All people shall have the right to receive an equal education correspondent to their ability, as provided by law. All people shall be obligated to have all boys and girls under their protection receive ordinary education as provided for by law. Such compulsory education shall be free.

Article 27. All people shall have the right and the obligation to work. Standards for wages, hours, rest, and other working conditions shall be fixed by law. Children shall not be exploited.

Article 28. The right of workers to organize and to bargain and act collectively is guaranteed. . . .

Chapter IV. The Diet

Article 41. The Diet shall be the highest organ of state power, and shall be the sole law-making organ of the State.

Article 42. The Diet shall consist of two Houses, namely the House of Representatives and the House of Councillors.

Article 43. Both Houses shall consist of elected members, representative of all the people. The number of the members of each House shall be fixed by law.

Article 44. The qualifications of members of both Houses and their election shall be fixed by law. However, there shall be no discrimination because of race, creed, sex, social status, family origin, education, property or income.

Article 45. The term of office of members of the House of Representatives shall be four years. However, the term shall be terminated before the full term is up in case the House of Representatives is dissolved.

Article 46. The term of office of members of the House of Councillors shall be six years, and election for half the members shall take place every three years. . . .

Chapter VII. Finance

Article 83. The power to administer national finances shall be exercised as the Diet shall determine.

Article 84. No new taxes shall be imposed or existing ones modified except by law or under such conditions as law may prescribe.

Article 85. No money shall be expended, nor shall the State obligate itself, except as authorized by the Diet.

Article 86. The Cabinet shall prepare and submit to the Diet for its consideration and decision a budget for each fiscal year.

Article 87. In order to provide for unforeseen deficiencies in the budget, a reserve fund may be authorized by the Diet to be expended upon the responsibility of the Cabinet.

The Cabinet must get subsequent approval of the Diet for all payments from the reserve fund.

Article 88. All property of the Imperial Household shall belong to the State. All expenses of the Imperial Household shall be appropriated by the Diet in the budget. . . .

Chapter VIII. Local Self-Government

Article 92. Regulations concerning organization and operations of local public entities shall be fixed by law in accordance with the principle of local autonomy.

Article 93. The local public entities shall establish assemblies as their deliberative organs, in accordance with law.

The chief executive officers of all local public entities, the members of their assemblies, and such other local officials as may be determined by law shall be elected by direct popular vote within their several communities.

Article 94. Local public entities shall have the right to manage their property, affairs and administration and to enact their own regulations within law.

Article 95. A special law, applicable only to one local public entity, cannot be enacted by the Diet without the consent of the majority of the voters of the local public entity concerned, obtained in accordance with law. . . .

Education and National Identity

As you read the following document, underline the following:

1. Important values and characteristics of a good Japanese subject.

2. Goals each Japanese subject should strive to achieve.

3. Actions and behaviors Japanese people were expected to perform out of loyalty to their nation.

Document 1: Imperial Rescript on Education, 1890

Know ye, Our subjects:

Our Imperial Ancestors have founded Our Empire on a basis broad and everlasting, and have deeply and firmly implanted virtue; Our subjects ever united in loyalty and filial piety[1] have from generation to generation illustrated the beauty thereof. This is the glory of the fundamental character of Our Empire, and herein also lies the source of Our education. Ye, Our subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends true; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation; extend your benevolence to all; pursue learning and cultivate arts, and thereby develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers; furthermore advance public good and promote common interests; always respect the Constitution and observe the laws; should emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the State; and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth. So shall ye not only be Our good and faithful subjects, but render illustrious the best traditions of your forefathers.

The Way here set forth is indeed the teaching bequeathed by Our Imperial Ancestors, to be observed alike by Their Descendants and the subjects, infallible for all ages and true in all places. It is Our wish to lay it to heart in all reverence, in common with you, Our subjects, that we may all attain to the same virtue.

Source: Ryusaku Tsunoda et al., *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, vol. II. © 1958, 1964, Columbia University Press. Reprinted with the permission of the publisher.

[1] filial piety: respect for family and ancestors.

Document 2: Lesson in Moral Education Textbooks, 1933-1938, "A Good Japanese"

1. Respect the national anthem:

   Thousands of years of happy reign be thine;
   Rule on, my lord, till what are pebbles now
   By age united to mighty rocks shall grow
   Whose venerable sides the moss doth line.

2. Follow the example of Crown Prince Yoshihisa, who willingly gave his life in Taiwan for his country; the Emperor Meiji, who continually sacrificed his own personal pleasure for the good of the country; and those honored at the Yasukuni Shrine,[1] who had given their lives from loyalty to the emperor.

3. Work diligently at patriotism and loyalty in times of trouble to the country.

4. Work hard at making inventions useful to the country.

5. Be composed.

Source: Harry Wray, "The Lesson of the Textbook," *Japan Examined: Perspectives on Modern Japanese History* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1983).

[1] The Yasukuni Shrine is Japan's national memorial and a Tokyo Shinto shrine honoring Japan's war dead by enshrining the spirits of Japanese soldiers killed in domestic and foreign wars. Originally designed as a sanctuary to house the spirits of those who died in overthrowing the Tokugawa regime, Yasukuni was nurtured by the state and then the military into a powerful center to promote Japanese ultranationalism.

A Story about the Constitution for Boys and Girls

by Kanamori Tokujiro

Introduction

I wrote this book in the hopes that boys and girls could understand the spirit of the Constitution just by looking at the pictures. I thought that maybe just by looking at the pictures the Constitution could be absorbed into your souls. But it became a book that involves viewing and thinking.

This is not a comforting manga book. I wrote seriously about the difficult spirit of the Constitution. I simplified a topic that is difficult for adults hoping to make it understandable for everyone. I hope you will read this book even after you are an adult to grasp deeper meanings as you become older.

This is not a book about laws. It is an explanation of the place for the spirit of citizens. It states the mind-set that each person should hold. I hope that your parents and teachers would read this book too.

I express my gratitude to the artists, Matsuda Fumio, Yoshizawa Renzaburo, Miwa Takashi and others, who have made this book possible.

Kanamori Tokujiro

Source: Kanamori Tokujiro, *A Story About the Constitution* (Tokyo: Toda Kozo, 1950). Translated by Janet Hoaglund.

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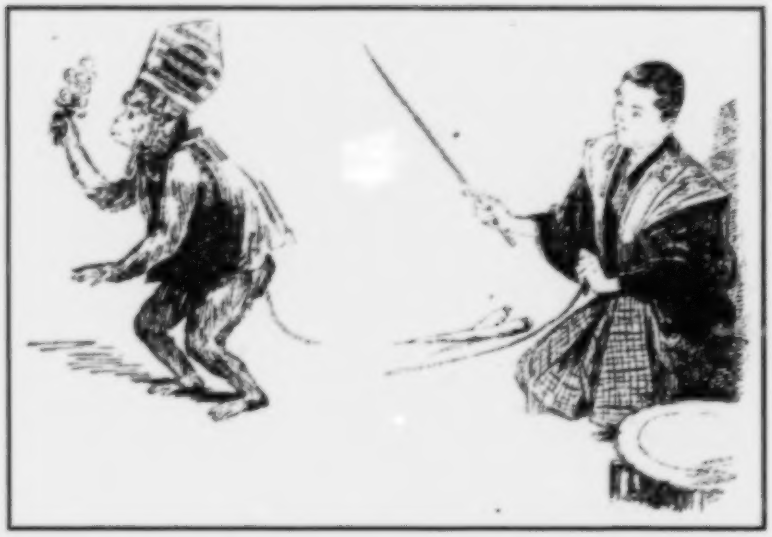
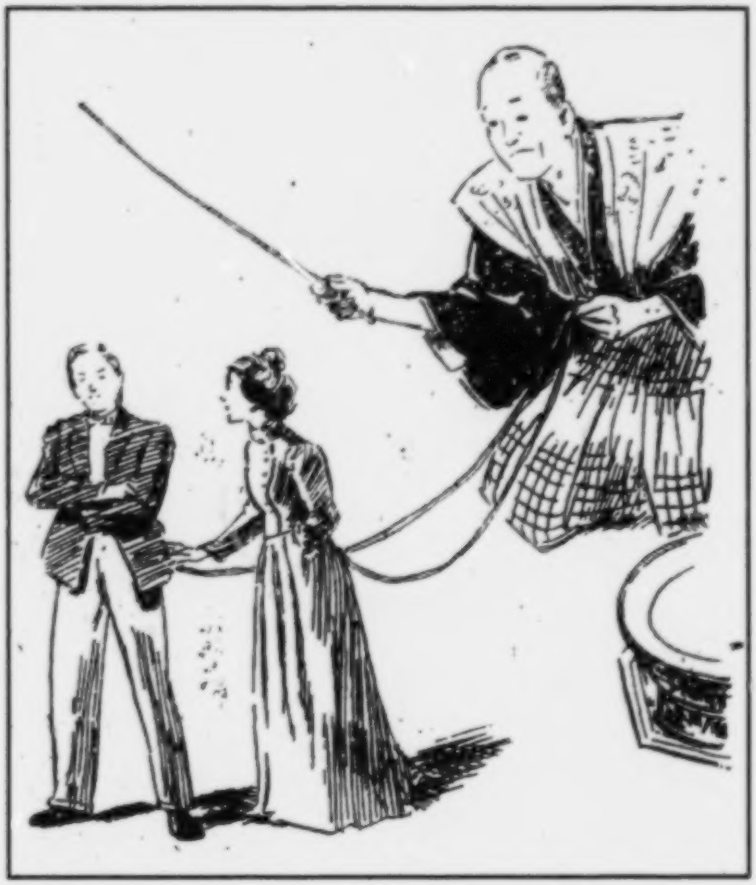
1. The Monkey's Tricks





A monkey on a string performs tricks with a master who rewards him using carrots and punishes him using a whip. The monkey is not acting of its own will. Are people happy to be treated in this way? Strangely enough, up until now this was considered normal. A horse is pulled along. People walk on their own feet motivated by their own thoughts. This is how people and horses are different. When people act for themselves, it is called *free will*. Horses are pulled by a rope, but people connect with others through their hearts. To live in harmony with others without being controlled by someone else, this is living according to one's own will, or living with a free will.

2. Humanity and Love

a) Cruelty to the weak

People who compose poems and words to songs write that nature is peaceful. In reality, trees and flowers are fighting over sunlight and the earth. The beautiful birds might be about to eat a butterfly enjoying the springtime. Basically, the strong bully the weak.

There is a phrase "the law of the jungle." It means the strong eat the weak. We can think of what is going on in nature in this way.

b) The joy of human love

What about people's hearts? Are we like the birds and beasts? Perhaps some people have a desire to bully the weak.

But good people are not like this. Good people respect and care for one another. When people can live in this way, they are the happiest. Proper people should have peace and philanthropy in their hearts. For example, if we look in the hearts of people who give speeches, what would we find? It must be different from what a waterfowl sees when looking at killifish. They must have love for humanity in their hearts. . . .

4. The Need for the Law . . .

b) The reason for national law

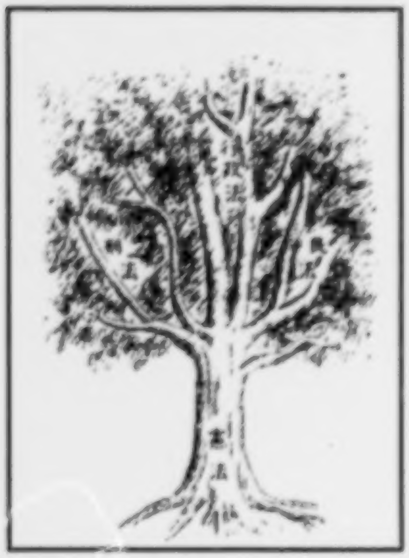
The reason people follow the law is not out of fear or blame or punishment. They follow out of a true sense that the law must be obeyed. But people have a habit of being weak of heart. It is necessary for the nation to strengthen the weak of heart through these laws also. It is just like setting your alarm clock to prevent oversleeping in the morning. One must wake oneself up. . . . We must make our own plan and decide on our actions—and live by our decisions even if it is difficult.

c) Constitutional government

With dogs and cats, we make the rules after they misbehave. We create the rule and scold them. This seems to work.

With humans, we must have the law established first. We are animals endowed with reason so we should live by the law. Ruling by law or a constitutional government becomes important and the political administration of our country must also abide by the law. We must be a constitutional state. It becomes important to establish laws, to conduct politics according to the law, and to enforce the law through the courts.

d) The various kinds of national law



There would probably be no end to the number of rules to keep order among people. And of these rules there are those that make up the root system and those that make up the branches and leaves. Civil laws, criminal laws, and administrative laws are part of the branches and leaves. The constitution makes up the roots.

5. Political Power

a) Why political power is necessary

People need to live together in harmony. Everyone believes this. This is why a country has a variety of regulations. What would we do if the following situation took place? If an unjust power forces its way, do reason and justice pull back?

"I'm hungry, so hand over all your money!
What? You're hungry too? I don't care. It's no problem of mine that you're hungry."

A violent criminal such as this cannot be dealt with by a code of ethics. This is when the need for political power in a country arises. We need something that establishes a system for people's affairs. A political power that looks out for the cooperative lives of citizens becomes necessary.

b) The foundation of political power

In the old days it would seem people thought political power came from the outside. Just as the wind and rain come from heaven, they believed that the demands to pay taxes, build schools, clean roads all came from a high, unreachable place. They carelessly thought that "the Emperor" or political authorities ruled the country. But now we know clearly that just as people build fountains and make fans, our government is created by us. How is it that we can become gods of rain and wind? By establishing a constitution we can gain a national Diet, a cabinet, and a court system accordingly. We the people also create the constitution. And we will do the work of the national Diet, the cabinet, and courts. When the foundation of political power rests with the citizens of a nation, it is called "the sovereignty of the people." Sovereignty is the most basic power people hold as political power.

6. The Constitution

a) What is a constitution?

You are familiar with the term *nebanaranu* (what must be done). You know the rules to do good, to get along with others, to follow the rules, for example.

The constitution decides foundational rules such as how a country will function and the position of citizens. It is the basis for everything so it is a country's fundamental law. It is also the most powerful and is therefore the supreme law. Moreover, if I explain that the constitution is also the fundamental law of a nation's political system, it would make for an accurate explanation.

b) How was it created?

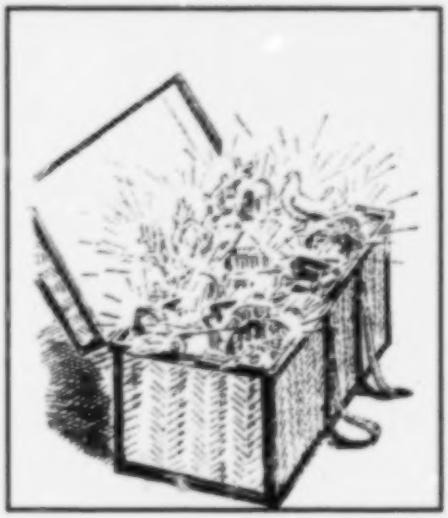
It states in the Japanese constitution, "Japanese citizens have the inalienable right to choose public officials to represent them in the National Diet through the election process . . ." Japanese citizens decide on the constitution.

In other words, the constitution combines the sentiments of *nebanaranu*, or what must be done. Of course, it is difficult to roll these *nebanaranu* thoughts into one, but we have done the best we can.

7. The Contents of the Constitution

The following is a list of what is written in the constitution:

1) About the constitution itself (its efficacy, and how it can be amended or revised).



2) About the larger principles of our political system (pacificism, etc.).

3) About the structure of our political system (the emperor, our national Diet, the cabinet, and our courts).

4) About our political system (laws, government ordinances, trials, and meetings/sessions).

5) Thoughts on how to value each citizen.

A constitution must contain these sorts of treasures. Do you think our constitution has all of the above? Yes, it does. But there are so many of these treasures that every time we look there are new and better treasures that we had not noticed before. Let's take a look.

8. The Foundational Ethics of the Constitution and Its Four Main Points

The world is not a perfect place. It is not set up so that everyone feels satisfied. There are people who suffer from wars. There are people who struggle with a poor political system in their country. But the constitution that we have created is based on democracy and is truly a good thing. If we move forward according to this, we will have a truthful life with purpose.

When we consider how this constitution appears, it puts people's independence as its base and provides the following four points: the principle of world peace, a rational emperor system, the accomplishment of a democratic political system, and the establishment of basic human rights. These are all difficult terms but you will come to understand them in time.

If you picture a beautiful and solid hill with a four-pillared tower standing above a tempest-blown world, you will have a clear image of our constitution. Perhaps you could call this

Structure the Tower of Peace. This of course was modeled on the foundation of independence for people and the pillar of the four great points.

9. Can the Constitution Be Changed?

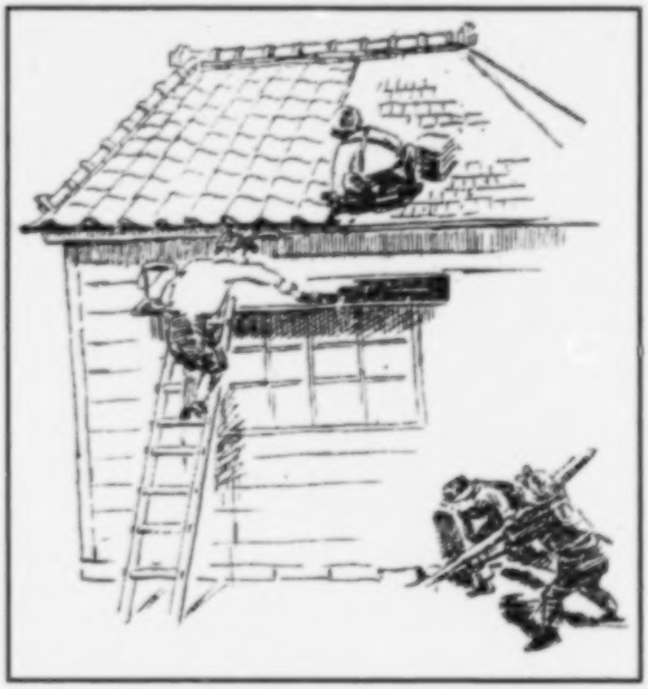
Our original constitution was written in Meiji 22 (1890) and was completely revised in Showa 21 (1947). It was changed entirely so that none of the old rules remain. This is our new constitution.

In the past, people did not like to change the constitution. Changing it a little at a time was one thing but many people felt changing it entirely was an impossibility. But, as I just said, the constitution has been completely changed. Now, no one says that the constitution should not be changed. There is no reason people cannot continually change something that was written by others.

But this does not mean we should consider the constitution lightly. This is the foundation for all our laws after all.

Painting our houses or replacing roof tiles can be done quickly, but rebuilding the foundation of a house is a huge undertaking and affects the entire household. Therefore, in settled countries like the United States and England, they do not amend their constitution hastily.

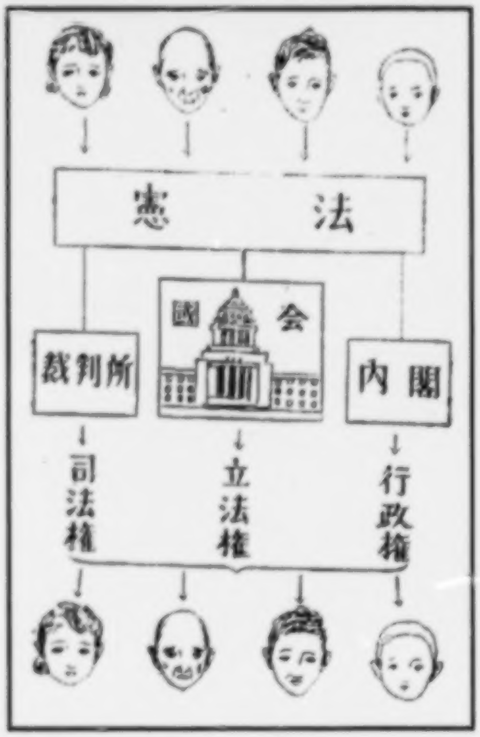
We need to treat our constitution with care also because it is the basis of our country's political system. Moreover, there are careful procedures to adhere to when revising a constitution. This involves sharing ideas for revision at the national Diet and then having the citizens vote to approve the revision.



10. Sovereignty

The reason we can manage to get along with 80 million people living together in Japan is because we have our government and political power. Determining laws, collecting taxes, and the court system are all part of this political power. Now, political power is the power to give instructions to "do thus and so," but whose place is it to give these instructions? In the past, people thought it was a very strong person who held this power, but now we say all Japanese citizens together hold this power. So, the originator of political power is the heart of all the citizens of our country. Japanese citizens need to come together and manage their own affairs. This is stated "Sovereignty resides with the people."

Sovereignty is the heart or will that is the origin of political power. The citizenship of our nation points to all Japanese people. This may be difficult to understand, but it must be held firmly in our hearts. So we must govern ourselves and be governed at the same time. This is not unlike swinging a hose around and spraying oneself with water. . . .



12. A Proper Emperor System

The emperor and common citizens like ourselves are connected by a spirit of deep devotion and respect. This goes back for many generations to the parents of our grandparents as each generation has honored and revered the emperor. People have been so familiar with the emperor that they would be extremely lonely if he were not in Japan.

It is similar to feeling sad in the morning upon awakening to find the sun not shining. These feelings are deeply ingrained in our hearts.

Our hearts and the emperor's heart melt together harmoniously like the buds of flowers and grasses on a glorious spring day. If you look into your excited heart when we greet our emperor, shouting "Banzai" [hooray], you will understand. This is different from governing and being governed. This is a feeling that naturally wells up from inside of us.

13. A Symbol of Our Country

Some children have been to the zoo. After dinner they are laughing and playing. They are drawing pictures and guessing what each has drawn. "It's a monkey," "It's a giraffe; no, a monkey," they say excitedly. Horns make us think of a bull, Mt. Fuji makes us think of Japan, and our flag makes us think of our country. This is to be expected.

When we respect our emperor, we feel Japan deeply in our hearts. This is the meaning of symbolism. When you look at one thing and think of another, the first is a symbol of the latter. When cherry blossoms bloom, spring has come. When maple leaves are red, autumn is well under way. In these cases, the meaning of symbolism is clear.

In our constitution, it states clearly that the emperor is a symbol of Japan. Thinking of the emperor as our ruler is an old way of thinking and is not correct for today.

14. The Work of the Emperor

In the Meiji Constitution, the emperor was thought to be the "general manager" of Japan.

With our new constitution, this has completely changed. The government has many jobs: laws are made by our national Diet, the cabinet is the general manager of our administration, and trials are performed in our courts.

If we look at a statue of the Kannon, goddess of mercy, there is the ordinary Kannon and the Kannon with 1,000 hands. Whatever Kannon thinks up in her head she can put into practice with these hands. Just as the ordinary Kannon has only one set of hands, Japan used to have the emperor settle affairs by himself. The new constitution has many hands working with matters of our country just like the Kannon of a Thousand Hands. In other words, the national Diet, the courts, and the cabinet become the hands and do the work of our nation.

19. The Courts

The winner or loser of sumo cannot be determined without a referee. Whether punishing a person, or settling an estate or property dispute, or collecting taxes, if there is a difference of opinion, there must be a person who performs the role of a referee to decide the outcome. The courts take on this job. We call this *judicial power*.

1) A person's punishment must be according to the court. You cannot punish a person without a trial.

2) A person's punishment must be defined by the law. And a person cannot be punished by a law that was made after the fact. Rules of punishment cannot be retroactive.

3) The courts must be separate from other public offices. In order to pass judgment fairly, the judge must be impartial. This is considered one of the separations in the administration of justice.

In the old days, men fought duels and took revenge but this was because people tried to distinguish right from wrong on their own. In the present, our nation determines this fairly.

Scolding a dog immediately when it barks is how we discipline a dog. With human rules, we first decide "such and such is not allowed." When the rule is broken or disobeyed, the person is punished. Otherwise human freedom cannot be maintained. This is a difficult fundamental principle. . . .

23. The Outlook for the Future

There are many countries on our earth. The view for a person from the past would be that our world is a war zone with bombs dropping and shells flying. From our view, there are beautiful flowers blooming with lovely celestial beings dancing in paradise.

How did things become this way? Things are the way they are because of our constitution.

We must always hold our constitution in high regard and protect it carefully. The road is long but we must walk steadily step by step toward the light of our ideal world.

For Teachers and Parents

This book is the result of Mr. Kanamori Tokujiro's dedication to the children of Japan, who will inherit our future. He spent two years working closely with the illustrators on appropriate wording and pictures. As you probably have noticed, the simple text and fun pictures convey important meanings. Please explain these to your child as you read along together, keeping in mind your child's age level.

Please keep in mind that this book was written not just for home use but as a social studies textbook for schools. And please allow us to help you contact the writer.

About the authorXKanamori Tokujiro sensei [teacher] was born in Aichi prefecture. After graduating from Tokyo University, he became a scholar of politics and law and played an important role in government. When the Japanese constitution was written, he worked hard as chairman of the committee. He now continues his important work as head of the library commission of our national Diet.

4

Embracing Democracy 2: Japanese as Active Citizens of a Democracy

Introduction: This lesson requires that students read, analyze, and interpret a number of documents—official statements, treaties, surveys, news accounts, photographs, letters to the editor, poems, songs, and oral interviews—all of which remain subject to analysis and interpretation by scholars today. Although the lesson asks students to reach conclusions, the teacher should acknowledge the difficulty of doing so. By participating in the lesson, students should recognize the challenges faced by historians, especially historians of recent events in Japan.

To benefit from the lesson, students need some knowledge of the Cold War, particularly how it changed the relationships between the United States and Japan (former enemy becomes ally), the Soviet Union (former ally becomes enemy), and China (former ally becomes enemy). Students need to understand that many Japanese imprisoned by the Occupation forces immediately following the war were released by those same forces as a result of the Cold War and that, by 1960, many of these former war criminals held leadership positions in Japan's government.

This lesson focuses on events in Japan between 1957 and 1960 that surrounded the proposed revision of the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty, or Ampo, as it is abbreviated in Japanese. To many Japanese (and to other observers), the protest movement during spring 1960 that resulted in the passage of the revised treaty and the resignation of a prime minister represents a defining historical moment in Japanese postwar democracy. What did it mean to be Japanese at this moment?

Objectives: At the conclusion of this lesson, students will be able to:

1. Define the terms of the 1960 U.S.-Japan Security Treaty and state the reasons for Japanese support of and opposition to it.
2. Explain some of the difficulties of interpreting surveys or polls of public opinion.
3. Analyze documents related to the anti-security treaty movement.
4. Recognize the complexities of the Japanese political scene in the late 1950s and early 1960s and the difficulties involved in interpreting it.
5. Express in writing their views on whether the actions taken by various individuals and groups in reaction to the 1960 security treaty represented a democratic movement in Japan.

Time Required: 3-4 class periods

Materials: Copies of Handouts 4A through 4D for all students; enough copies of Handouts 4E through 4L for one small group to work with each handout

Procedure:

Read all the lesson materials and, if possible, preview the video clip (not included but described in **Recommended Films**). Decide how many small groups you will organize the class into in **Part II** and with which handouts each group will work.

Part I: Introduction to the Treaty

1. Ask students what it means to "embrace democracy." What are essential elements in a participatory form of government? Does it require only thought? action? protest? Do riots qualify? Where does one draw the line? *Answers will vary, and you must decide whether to reach consensus on the issue or to settle for students' reaching their independent conclusions.* Following the discussion, ask students to write down their definitions of democracy. (These will be used again later in the lesson.)

2. Review information about the Cold War, such as that discussed in the **Introduction**. Remind students that the original security treaty with Japan was signed just five hours after the signing of a peace treaty in 1951. In the midst of the Cold War, George Packard, author of *Protest in Tokyo: The Security Treaty Crisis of 1960*, wrote, "By 1951 the goals of the occupation had been largely achieved: Japan's military machine had been wiped out, her war-torn economy revived, and a democratic form of government established." The security treaty "enabled the United States to achieve its two major objectives of giving Japan independence and providing for its own strategic security in the far East." Thus, the Occupation would end, but U.S. military power would remain in Japan. The 1951 treaty was signed while Japan was still an occupied nation; some would claim the treaty was in violation of Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution because it called for Japan to "increasingly assume responsibility for its own defense against direct and indirect aggression."

3. Distribute copies of Handout 4A, which presents the Joint Communiqué of June 21, 1957, issued by President Eisenhower and Prime Minister Kishi. Ask students to identify the authors and the main ideas of the communiqué. *Answers should suggest a spirit of mutual cooperation and a recognition that Japan's place in the world had changed since the signing of the treaty in 1951.*

4. Distribute Handout 4B, which presents polls conducted in 1959 by three Japanese newspapers and the Prime Minister's Office. Alert the class to the fact that each poll posed slightly different questions, that each was conducted in a different month of the year, and that, while three were conducted by the media, the fourth was conducted by a government office. Ask the class what difference, if any, these variables make and whether or how the variables might affect the poll results. *People might respond differently to questions asked by the government, events in intervening months could produce different results at a later date, etc.*

Ask students to answer the questions posed in the introduction to the polls. *The class will likely point out that the majority of people surveyed knew the government was planning to revise the security treaty; felt somewhat informed about the treaty; knew that the JSP (Japan Socialist Party), Sohyo (General Council of Trade Unions), and other groups opposed the plan to revise the treaty; and favored Japan's general cooperation with the U.S. in the future. Some students may point out that nearly 45 percent of those surveyed in the* Tokyo Shimbun *poll thought the new treaty would likely involve Japan in war; slightly more than 45 percent thought that to protect its security Japan should side with the free world.*

5. Distribute Handout 4C and have students read the excerpts from the proposed (and later adopted) 1960 treaty. Ask students to summarize its terms, focusing on security issues (i.e., issues related to defense in the region) between Japan and the United States. *The terms provide that both countries will work to strengthen (subject to their constitutional provisions) their capacities to resist armed attack; both will consult together regarding the implementation of the treaty and, at the request of either, whenever the security of Japan or the region is threatened; both will act to meet the common danger should there be an attack against either; any armed*

attack against either country in the territories under the administration of Japan shall be reported to the United Nations; and the United States is granted use by its land, air, and naval forces of facilities and areas in Japan for the purpose of contributing to the security of Japan and of the Far East. It's important to point out that Article IV is a change from the 1951 treaty, which did not provide for consultation between Japan and the United States.

6. Review briefly with students what they have learned, outlining key points on the board or on a transparency. Ask students what reaction they think—given the above information—one might expect from the Japanese public when the treaty went before the Diet (Japan's legislature) for approval. *Answers will depend upon student opinions and insights. Most will likely argue that there would be general support for the 1960 treaty because it allowed Japan more say in decision-making than the treaty of 1951. Some students may suggest that some Japanese people would object for a number of reasons: the treaty might draw Japan into war; the treaty, like its predecessor, violated Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution; the treaty dealt with Japan as less than a sovereign nation; and the treaty gave the United States too much authority over Japanese territory.*

7. Tell students that in the next part of this lesson they will examine evidence from a variety of Japanese sources that might help explain how and why individuals and groups of Japanese reacted to the treaty revision as they did. For homework, ask students to review their notes from the day's discussion and identify three factors that might have caused a large number of Japanese people to react negatively to the treaty.

Part II: The Protests

1. As students report on their homework, record their ideas (or have a student record them) on the board or a transparency. *Answers will vary but should include factors listed above as well as the increased strength of the Japan Socialist Party and the threat to the democratic process.* Keep the list visible during the ensuing exercise.

2. Tell students that additional Japanese documents and voices of Japanese individuals and groups will aid them in their understanding of the complexities of the situation in Japan during spring 1960. Distribute Handout 4D and explain that students are to use this retrieval chart to record information about these additional documents. Organize the class into several small groups (five is workable), and distribute Handouts 4E through 4L. Each handout presents examples of different kinds of documents: newspaper accounts (4E), letters to the editor (4F), photographs (4G), opinions on the treaty (4H), organizations' views (4I), poetry (4J), songs (4K), and oral histories (4L). Not all handouts are of "equal weight"—some require more reading than others and some require more thought. You may want to give some groups more than one handout while another group gets a single, more complex handout. Students are responsible for reading and analyzing the documents, answering the questions in the notes that precede them, and entering information on a retrieval chart.

3. Allow time for students to examine their assigned documents carefully and to confer with group members. When students have analyzed their documents and recorded their results on the retrieval chart, ask each group to report its findings. (Those not reporting should record information.) Continue the process until all documents have been analyzed and reported on.

4. Ask students what sense they can make of the information provided. Remind them of the Joint Communiqué and the survey results discussed earlier. How can they explain the differences? *Answers will vary, but may include the following: Prime Minister Kishi was not a popular politician; the death of a student—a female student—may have influenced many people's*

thinking; special interest groups were vocal in their opposition; the spy-plane incident may have frightened people; the Socialists and Communists took advantage of the situation; Tokyo University—a highly respected institution—swayed opinions; people felt that the democratic process was violated; and many ordinary people simply went on with their lives, not worrying about the treaty.

The bottom line may be that the situation in Japan in 1960 was, indeed, complex, just as much of history is complex, or "messy." Remind students that history is not simply a chronicle of events, but rather an interpretation of the past, and that what is needed for them to better understand the situation may be more time to investigate the evidence and perhaps some help from historians of the period who might put things into perspectives. Of course, we can never know for certain exactly what caused things to happen as they did in the spring of 1960 in Tokyo.

5. Nonetheless, ask students—given what they have learned from this exercise—whether they see this episode in Japan's history as one in which its people "embraced democracy," or whether they see the events as isolated and the work of small interest groups. Assign an essay on the question: Was the Ampo movement in 1960s Japan an example of postwar democracy? Students should begin by incorporating their definition of democracy into the first paragraph, which should also include a thesis statement answering the question. They must then provide three generalizations to support their thesis and cite three pieces of evidence from the documents to support each generalization. Their conclusion should refer to their thesis.

To simplify the assignment, you might ask students to prove from the evidence provided that the Ampo movement was an example of democracy in postwar Japan. Explain that they may disagree with the statement, but that you want them to use the skills necessary to support a thesis statement. Again, ask students to include in the opening paragraph their definition of democracy.

Recommended Films: If you can rent or borrow the video *The Pacific Century: Inside Japan Inc.* (Annenberg/ CPG Collection, 1992), show an approximately nine-minute clip early in the film that depicts the anti-treaty demonstrations in Tokyo in the spring of 1960. After students have watched it, ask whether what they saw reinforces or contradicts their thinking about the Ampo movement. This, too, could be a writing assignment for evaluation/assessment purposes.

The demonstrations against the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty set the tone for a new film hero, a young person cut off from the past, drifting away from society's restrictions and expectations. With a growing sense of alienation and anger, these youth chose rebellion. For some, political action was the outlet for their anti-establishment anguish. Others' rebellion lacked a clear focus and motive, as was the case of the young protagonists of the controversial and very successful *Cruel Story of Youth* (Oshima Nagisa, 1960). Although *Cruel Story of Youth* is a film about sex and violence as expressions of rebellion, parts deserve consideration for classroom study. Four excerpts of about six to seven minutes each (minutes 1 through 5, 32 through 38, 54 through 61, and 71 through 78) provide sufficient story line and thematic material for productive discussions of the rebellion of Japanese youth in 1960.

Additional Resources:

J. Victor Koschmann, *Revolution and Subjectivity in Postwar Japan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1983). Volume K has an extensive biography of Premier Kishi.

Joint Communiqué, June 21, 1957
Issued by President Eisenhower and Prime Minister Kishi

In 1957, this communiqué was issued by U.S. President Dwight D. Eisenhower and Japan's Prime Minister Kishi Nobusuke. How would you summarize the main ideas of the communiqué?

The President of the United States and the Prime Minister of Japan concluded today valuable discussions on topics of interest to both countries. Their talks focused mainly on United States-Japanese relations but they also discussed international subjects of mutual concern, especially the situation in Asia. . . .

I

The President and the Prime Minister agreed that, although the dangers of general war had somewhat receded, international communism remains a major threat. Accordingly, they agreed that the free nations should continue to preserve their strength and their unity. It was mutually recognized that the deterrent power of the free world had, in recent years, been effective in preventing overt aggression in the Far East and the world. . . .

(2) Both nations are dedicated to peace based on liberty and justice in accordance with the principles of the United Nations. They are resolved to work toward the establishment of conditions under which peace and freedom can prevail. To this end they will support the United Nations and contribute their best efforts to preserve and enhance the unity of the Free World. They will oppose the use of force by any nation except in individual or collective self-defense as provided in the United Nations Charter.

(3) In the interests of continued peace, the Free World must maintain its defensive capability until armaments are brought under effective control. Meanwhile, the free nations need to intensify their efforts to foster the conditions necessary for economic and social progress and for strengthening freedom in Asia and throughout the world. Free Asian nations, which desire assistance, should be aided in carrying forward measures for economic development and technical training. . . .

II

Existing security arrangements between the United States and Japan were discussed. It was agreed to establish an inter-governmental committee to study problems arising in relation to the Security Treaty including consultation, whenever practicable, regarding the disposition and employment in Japan by the United States of its forces. The Committee will also consult to assure that any action taken under the Treaty conforms to the principles of the United Nations Charter. The President and the Prime Minister affirmed their understanding that the Security Treaty of 1951 was designed to be transitional in character and not in that form to remain in perpetuity. The Committee will also consider future adjustments in the relationships between the United States and Japan in these fields adequate to meet the needs and aspirations of the peoples of both countries.

Source: Excerpted from U.S. Department of State, "Joint Communiqué of June 21, 1957, issued by President Eisenhower and Prime Minister Kishi," *Department of State Bulletin*, vol. 37 (July 8, 1957), pp. 51-53.

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The United States welcomed Japan's plans for the buildup of her defense forces and accordingly, in consonance with the letter and spirit of the Security Treaty, will substantially reduce the numbers of United States forces in Japan within the next year, including a prompt withdrawal of all United States ground combat forces. The United States plans still further reductions as the Japanese defense forces grow. . . .

The Prime Minister emphasized the strong desire of the Japanese people for the return of administrative control over the Ryukyu and Bonin Islands to Japan. The President reaffirmed the United States position that Japan possesses residual sovereignty over these islands. He pointed out, however, that so long as the conditions of threat and tension exist in the Far East the United States will find it necessary to continue the present status. He stated that the United States will continue its policy of improving the welfare and well-being of the inhabitants of the Islands and of promoting their economic and cultural advancement. . . .

The President and the Prime Minister discussed the early cessation of both the testing and the manufacture of nuclear weapons as part of a first step in a safeguarded disarmament program. The President told the Prime Minister that the latter's views are being taken into account in formulating the United States position at the current United Nations disarmament session in London.

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Polls

Between April and October of 1959, leading Japanese newspapers ran editorials on what some called the issue of the year: the revision of the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty. Results from some opinion polls conducted by three newspapers appear below, followed by the results of a survey conducted by the Prime Minister's Office. What do these polls say about the attitude of the Japanese people toward the treaty revision prior to its being signed or debated in the Diet (Japan's legislature)? Summarize the results of each poll. Look at the differences among the polls and consider why these differences might be important.

Tokyo Shimbun Poll (July 19, 1959)

This poll was run by the *Tokyo Shimbun* in cooperation with the Public Opinion Science Association (Koron Kagaku Kyokai) by a random stratified sample, with 79.7% responding.

Q: Are you well informed on the current treaty revision issues?

A:	Well informed	16.6%
	Somewhat informed	65.1%
	Not informed	18.3%

Q: Do you think that the new treaty will involve Japan in war or make Japan more secure?

A:	Likely to involve Japan in war	44.5%
	Guarantees Japan's security	21.5%
	Don't know	34.0%

Q: Which course should Japan follow to protect her security?

A:	Side with the free world	45.3%
	Join the Communist Bloc	1.6%
	Adopt Indian-style neutralism	36.0%
	Other	1.8%
	Don't know	15.3%

Q: Are you generally in favor of treaty revision, opposed to it, or do you wish to abolish the treaty altogether?

A:	In favor of revision	31.1%
	Opposed to revision	10.8%
	Wish to abolish the treaty	16.9%
	Don't know	41.2%

Source: Packard, George R. III, *Protest in Tokyo: The Security Treaty Crisis of 1960.* Copyright © 1966, renewed 1994 by Princeton University Press. Reprinted by permission of Princeton University Press.

Mainichi Shimbun Poll (August 26, 1959)

This poll was conducted between August 10-12, 1959, by a random stratified sample of eligible voters, with 3,240 responding out of 4,130 approached in 295 localities throughout Japan.

A:

Q:	Did you know that the government was planning to revise the security treaty soon?	
	Did know	71.2%
	Didn't know	24.8%
	Didn't know there was a treaty	3.5%
	No response	0.5%

Q:	Did you know that the JSP, Sohyo, and others were opposing the government's plan to revise the treaty?	
A:	Did know	54.1%
	Not too familiar	34.0%
	Didn't know	9.5%
	No response	2.4%

Q:	What do you think of the present security treaty?	
A:	All right as it stands	12.5%
	Should be revised right away	7.2%
	Should be revised, but not necessarily now	20.6%
	Should be abolished now	6.4%
	Should be abolished eventually	13.0%
	Other	0.4%
	No interest	11.4%
	Don't know	24.8%
	No response	3.7%

Yomiuri Shimbun Poll (October 4, 1959)

This poll was conducted on September 26-27, 1959, by the *Yomiuri Shimbun* in 219 places by a random stratified sample, using the direct interview method with 2,593 responding.

Q:	Are you very interested in the current treaty revision problem?	
A:	Very interested	14%
	Somewhat interested	43%
	Not interested	43%

Q:	Which is the best course for Japan: siding with the U.S. and free world, siding with the Soviet Union and Communist China, or neutrality?	
A:	Siding with U.S. and free world	26%
	Siding with Soviet Union and Communist China	1%
	Neutrality	50%
	Don't know	23%

Q: If the security treaty were abolished and all military ties with the U.S. cut, would you be worried about aggression from the Communist Bloc?

A:	Would worry	28%
	Would not worry	27%
	Don't know	45%

Q: Do you think the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty is necessary or unnecessary?

A:	Necessary	46%
	Unnecessary	12%
	Don't know	42%

Prime Minister's Poll
(Conducted in July 1959 and Announced October 9, 1959)

This poll, conducted by the Central Research Company (*Chuo Chosa Sha*) at the government's request, drew 8,444 responses from 10,000 eligible voters in 137 cities and towns and 147 villages throughout Japan, using the direct interview method. *Yomiuri Shimbun* (evening), October 9, 1959.

Q: Did you know that treaty revision has recently become a problem?

A:	Did know	50%
	Didn't know	50%

(Only 11 percent of the total could name specific points in the treaty to be revised.)

Q: Are you in favor of or opposed to the present treaty?

A:	In favor	15%
	Opposed	10%
	Can't say in general terms, undecided	25%
	Unaware of the problem (above)	50%

Q: Are you in favor of or opposed to Japan's general cooperation with the U.S. in the future?

A:	In favor	53%
	Opposed	17%
	Uncertain	30%

Q: Are you in favor of or opposed to increasing our self-defense strength?

A:	In favor	43%
	Opposed	30%
	Undecided	27%

Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security Between the United States of America and Japan

The 1960 treaty between the United States and Japan was a revision of the treaty signed in 1951, which did not contain a provision pledging mutual consultation (Article 4) with regard to major changes in U.S. military deployment. As such, its terms were more favorable to Japan than the one it replaced. Prime Minister Kishi, confident of public support, sought ratification of the treaty. However, a series of protest demonstrations in Tokyo resulted in the cancellation of a visit by President Eisenhower, and an assassination attempt was made on Kishi's life. The Prime Minister resigned from office in July 1960. Below are excerpts from the treaty. On the basis of these excerpts, summarize the terms of the treaty, focusing on security (defense) issues.

TREATY

The United States of America and Japan,

Desiring to strengthen the bonds of peace and friendship traditionally existing between them, and to uphold the principles of democracy, individual liberty, and the rule of law,

Desiring further to encourage closer economic cooperation between them and to promote conditions of economic stability and well-being in their countries,

Reaffirming their faith in the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, and their desire to live in peace with all peoples and all governments,

Recognizing that they have the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense as affirmed in the Charter of the United Nations,

Considering that they have a common concern in the maintenance of international peace and security in the Far East,

Having resolved to conclude a treaty of mutual cooperation and security,

Therefore agree as follows:

Article I: The Parties undertake, as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations, to settle any international disputes in which they may be involved by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security and justice are not endangered and to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations.

Source: U.S. Department of State, *Security Treaty Between the United States of America and Japan* [and related documents], vol. 11, *United States Treaties and Other International Agreements*, TIAS 4509, (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961), pp. 1633-1635.

The Parties will endeavor in concert with other peace-loving countries to strengthen the United Nations so that its mission of maintaining international peace and security may be discharged more effectively. . . .

Article III: The Parties, individually and in cooperation with each other, by means of continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid will maintain and develop, subject to their constitutional provisions, their capacities to resist armed attack.

Article IV: The Parties will consult together from time to time regarding the implementation of this Treaty, and, at the request of either Party, whenever the security of Japan or international peace and security in the Far East is threatened.

Article V: Each Party recognizes that an armed attack against either Party in the territories under the administration of Japan would be dangerous to its own peace and safety and declares that it would act to meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional provisions and processes.

Any such armed attack and all measures taken as a result thereof shall be immediately reported to the Security Council of the United Nations in accordance with the provisions of Article 51 of the Charter. Such measures shall be terminated when the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to restore and maintain international peace and security.

Article VI: For the purpose of contributing to the security of Japan and the maintenance of international peace and security in the Far East, the United States of America is granted the use of its land, air and naval forces and areas in Japan. . . .

Article VIII: This Treaty shall be ratified by the United States of America and Japan in accordance with their respective constitutional processes and will enter into force on the date on which the instruments of ratification thereof have been exchanged by them in Tokyo. . . .

Article X: This Treaty shall remain in force until in the opinion of the Governments of the United States of America and Japan there shall have come into force such United Nations arrangements as will satisfactorily provide for the maintenance of international peace and security in the Japan area.

However, after the Treaty has been in force for ten years, either Party may give notice to the other Party of its intention to terminate the Treaty in which case the Treaty shall terminate one year after such notice has been given.

In witness whereof the undersigned Plenipotentiaries have signed this Treaty.

Done in duplicate at Washington in the English and Japanese languages, both equally authentic, this 19th day of January, 1960.

Retrieval Chart

Embracing Democracy: Japanese as Active Citizens of a Democracy

Type of Document	Title of Document	Date	Author	Position on 1960 Treaty/Protests
Newspaper Accounts	1. The Split Students			
	2. Weekly News Review: Forcing of Security Treaty			
	3. Weekly News Review: Spy-Plane Incident			
	4. Joint Declaration			
Letters to the Editor	5. A Quiet Demonstration			
	6. YWCA Opposes Visit			
Photographs	7. Prime Minister Kishi			
	8. Funeral Parade			
	9. Protests Against Eisenhower's Visit			
	10. A Helicopter Rescue			

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Type of Document	**Title of Document**	**Date**	**Author**	**Position on 1960 Treaty/Protests**
Opinions	11. On the Revision . . .			
	12. Statement of Resignation			
	13. President of Tokyo University's Opinion			
Organizations' Views	14. Formation of the People's Council			
	15. Voiceless Voices Flyer			
Poetry	16. The Record			
	17. Beneath the Same Sky			
Songs	18. Internationale			
	19. Rise Up			
Oral Histories	20. Interview with Kato Koichi			
	21. Interview with Kubota Hiroshi			
	22. Interview with Ono M.			

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Newspaper Accounts

Document 1: The Split Students
Factions of Zengakuren Take Separate Courses of Action
by Kiyoaki Murata

According to this story from The Japan Times, *who was involved in the demonstrations?*

The antisecurity treaty demonstrations of last Tuesday involving Zengakuren, the national student group, were outstanding on two counts.

Firstly, they showed that the Zengakuren leadership is split in the middle between what may be termed, for convenience's sake, as the main current and antimain current factions.

Secondly, the day's developments, nonetheless, brought into action the largest number of students for a single purpose on a single day's program in its entire 12-year history. By official tabulation, altogether 13,150 students took part in demonstrations against the new U.S.-Japan Security Treaty now being deliberated on in the Diet. Apart from them, another 13,800 night students held their rally at the Hibiya Park in the evening of the same day.

Main and Antimain

Roughly speaking, the main current faction, the now dominant group within Zengakuren, consists of students who call themselves Kyosanshugisha Domei (Communist League) with their primary influence on the campuses of Hokkaido, Tokyo, Kyoto, Waseda, Meiji and other universities.

Their opposition group, the antimain current faction, on the other hand now includes students favorably disposed toward the policies and advocacies of the Japan Communist Party (JCP). The JCP since two years ago has taken mild, "peaceful" course of action to further its cause. This pro-JCP faction is entrenched among the leftist students of Tokyo Education, Metropolitan, Nagoya, Osaka, Kobe and a few other universities.

The split of Zengakuren leadership came to the fore following the Jan. 16 riot at Haneda Airport. Without being able to resolve the differences, the two contesting groups carried on their respective programs on April 26, each endeavoring to win the support of as many students as possible.

Two Rallies

The radical, main currentists had planned to bring their antisecurity treaty campaign to a climax on that particular day by storming the Diet building—in spite of the repeated pleas by the Socialists, Sohyo and the People's Council Against Security Treaty Revision.

Source: "The Split Students," by Kiyaoki Murata, *The Japan Times* (May 4, 1960). Used by permission.

Such a policy was reaffirmed at their meeting on the eve of D-Day at Meiji University, attended by representatives of Tokyo students.

The antimain current faction likewise held its own meeting at the Tokyo University of Education.

On April 26, since before noon, students of Tokyo's numerous universities were, as they left their campuses, urged by leaders of the two Zengakuren factions to join their respective rallies.

The places of assembly were different. The main current faction had chosen the street in front of the former Chapel Center, a stone's throw down the hill from the Diet building. As of 3 p.m., about 4,000 students, not only from Tokyo but also from the neighboring prefectures of Kanagawa, Chiba and Gunma were counted there.

Sitting on the paved street which was blocked by a row of police armored cars, with another of trucks immediately behind, the students gave yells and sang the Internationale.

Document 2: Weekly News Review
Forcing of Security Treaty Approval Creates Political Crisis
by Kuroda Kazuo

This weekly news summary appeared about three weeks after the previous article. How does this article support or contradict the previous article?

Prime Minister Kishi, after forcing the Lower House approval of the much-controverted Japan-U.S. Security Treaty, faced a twofold task to allay his Liberal-Democratic intraparty opponents and to deal with the angry Socialists.

The fact that police were called into the Diet building to eject the Socialist human barricade was deplored widely and bitterly. The Socialists charged that the Government trampled under foot the dignity of the legislature. The Liberal-Democrats countercharged that the forcible confinement by the Socialists of the Lower House Speaker in his room left no choice but to call in the police.

On Saturday, about 150 Socialist members of the Diet went to the Prime Minister's residence at Shibuya, Tokyo, to demand the resignation en masse of his Cabinet and also the resignation of House Speaker Dr. Ichiro Kiyose, who sought the police assistance.

For Kishi, however, it is out of the question at this time to consider resignation. He rammed through the Security Treaty Friday, acting swiftly as soon as the nation's attention reverted back to Tokyo from Paris, where the summit conference broke down over Khrushchev's intransigent demand for U.S. apology for the spy-plane incident. . . . That assures, in accordance with the Constitution, the automatic ratification of the treaty on June 19, just in time for U.S. President Eisenhower's scheduled visit to Japan . . . The infuriated Socialists will try their utmost in branding the Kishi Cabinet as an undemocratic regime. . . .

On Thursday, the Liberal-Democratic Party decided to seek a 50-day extension of the Diet. That much extension, to cover the period from May 26 to July 15, was considered necessary to assure the pact ratification. Even the Constitutional provision for automatic approval requires that the Diet remain in session.

Around 10:30 the same evening, Saeki Ozawa (Liberal-Democratic), chairman of the Security Treaty Special Committee, terminated the committee proceedings, overriding the Socialist protests. At 11:50, Speaker Kiyose opened the plenary session, after having been helped through the Socialist human wall by policemen.

At this plenary session, the Liberal-Democrats approved the Diet extension without Socialist attendance. While the Socialist attention was diverted to this move, the Liberal-Democrats came up with another surprise move and voted approval of the Security Treaty and related agreements at another plenary session, which opened six minutes after midnight Thursday.

Source: "Weekly News Review," by Kuroda Kazuo, *The Japan Times* (May 23, 1960). Used by permission.

Document 3: Weekly News Review
Spy-Plane Incident Adds Fuel to Socialist Onslaught on Gov't
by Kuroda Kazuo

On May 7, the American government admitted (after denying) that a high-altitude American jet plane made an intelligence flight over the Soviet Union. The following account of that incident was reported in The Japan Times *during anti-Security Treaty demonstrations. How might this account have affected the Japanese public's attitude toward the treaty and the United States?*

Repercussions of the spy-plane case shook the Japanese legislature last week. The incident has encouraged the Socialists opposing the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty. Since there still remains some disunity in the ruling Liberal-Democratic Party itself, the ratification of the pact by the Diet is likely to be delayed further.

On May 7, the United States admitted that a high altitude American jet plane made an intelligence flight over the Soviet Union as charged by Premier Nikita Khrushchev. Due to a time difference, the report arrived here to make headlines in evening papers Sunday last week.

The statement said: "It appears that in endeavoring to obtain information now concealed behind the iron curtain a flight over Soviet territory was probably undertaken by an unarmed civilian U2 plane." The statement also admitted that intelligence flights have been made by the same kind of jets "along the frontiers of the Free World for the past four years."

U2 Planes in Japan

The same evening in Tokyo, a U.S. Air Force spokesman said that there were three U2 type planes in Japan similar to the plane shot down over Soviet territory. A spokesman for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration in Washington D.C. said the three U2 planes in Japan did not ever perform espionage missions. The following morning, Maj. Gen. Raleigh R. Hendrix, chief of staff, U.S. Forces Japan, also told Vice Adm. Sadayoshi Nakayama, chief Joint Staff Council Secretariat that the three U2 planes stationed at Atsugi, 45 miles southwest of Tokyo, are instructed to stay at least 20 miles away from the territorial air space of any nation where they are not authorized to be.

These developments formed the background when the Lower House Special Committee met last Monday to continue its deliberation upon the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty.

Socialist Ichio Asukata voiced suspicion that the U2 planes in Japan were engaged in missions other than meteorological observation of the upper atmosphere. Foreign Minister Aichiro Fujiyama replied that the United States would make a representation on the matter since the Foreign Office had made an inquiry. Asukata demanded that Japan should have the right to investigate what was going on inside the military based in Japan.

Source: "Spy-Plane Incident Adds Fuel to Socialist Onslaught on Gov't," by Kuroda Kazuo, *The Japan Times* (May 16, 1960). Used by permission.

Asukata and Maps

Asukata is the man who perplexed the Government on April 14 by alleging that the aerial maps of the Japanese Self-Defense Forces were "aggressively designed" to include part of the Soviet and Communist Chinese territories. He produced what he claimed to be the maps and tried to link them with the forced landing of a U2 plane at Fujisawa near Tokyo on Sept. 24 last year.

On that occasion, Defense Agency director Munenori Akagi denied that any U.S. planes ever violated the territorial air space of the Communist countries. The recent spy-plane case has made that testimony appear dubitable, and consequently Foreign Minister Fujiyama said he was getting in contact with the U.S. authorities on the matter.

At the committee session on Thursday, Socialist Rikiya Nishimura urged the Government to demand withdrawal of U2 planes from Japan. Prime Minister Kishi replied that the Government would protest immediately if any of the Japan-based U.S. planes should violate territorial air space of other nations.

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Document 4: Joint Declaration of the Seven Newspapers
(June 16, 1960)

Below is a translation of an editorial that appeared in seven major Japanese newspapers on June 17, 1960. (This English version appeared in the Asahi Evening News *on June 17, 1960.) It was unprecedented for newspapers in Japan to issue a joint declaration. Liberal Democratic Party officials in the Diet (Japan's legislature) boasted that the editorial vindicated them, while protesters complained that the editorial implied they were to blame for the violence. What is your opinion of the editorial? Does it favor one side over the other? How might it have affected Japanese public opinion?*

"Wipe Out Violence, Preserve Parliamentary Democracy"

Quite apart from whatever may have been the causes, the bloody incidents on the night of June 15 inside and outside the Diet were utterly deplorable and threw parliamentary democracy into a crisis. Never before have we been so deeply disturbed as we are now about the future of Japan.

In a democracy, differences should be contested with words. Whatever the causes and whatever the political difficulties may be, the use of violence to settle matters cannot be permitted under any circumstances. If a social trend permitting violence should once become general, we believe that democracy will die and a grave situation will arise which will endanger Japan's national existence.

Consequently, the Government, which bears the grave responsibility for the present situation, must speedily exert every effort to resolve the current situation. In this connection the Government must make it clear that it will respond to the sound judgment of people. At the same time, since the suspension of the Diet's function is one of the reasons for the current confusion, the Socialist and Democratic Socialist Parties should, at this time, lay aside their disputes for the time being and return to the Diet. We sincerely believe that it is the wish of the people that they return to the Diet and cooperate in resolving the situation by restoring Diet procedures to normal.

We therefore sincerely appeal to the Government and Opposition parties to respond to the fervent wishes of the people by agreeing to protect parliamentary democracy and by dispelling the unusual anxiety now troubling the people.

The Sankei Newspapers, Tokyo Shinbun, Tokyo Times Shinbun, Nihon Keizai Shinbun, the Mainichi Newspapers, the Yomiuri Newspapers, the Asahi Newspapers.

Source: *Asahi Evening News* (June 17, 1960), p. 50-51. Used by permission of the Asahi Shimbun Company.

Letters to the Editor

Document 15: "A Quiet Demonstration"
by Yagi Kitaro, 17 years old (April 12, 1960)

This letter to the editor appeared in The Japan Times *on April 12, 1960. Who wrote the letter? What does the writer recommend? Is it significant that* The Japan Times *is an English language newspaper?*

The Ampo movement is getting bigger day by day. I am sure that there will be more numbers of the demonstrations against Ampo, and I have a suggestion. That is to have a quiet demonstration so that more people of any age and both sexes can join it without hesitation.

The demonstrations in the past included zigzag marches and red flags and speeches with angry voices. These activities were systematized only by the members who belonged to particular activist groups. That created exclusive feeling to the ordinary people like me. The most important point of the series of the movements is to show the government that the majority of Japanese disagree with Ampo. We have to involve more ordinary people into the protest demonstrations to make the government's eyes open.

I suggest to have a quiet and peaceful demonstration, that the ordinary people and even the families with small children can join, in the six major cities in Japan on a same day, at same time. And, the participants of the demonstrations will wear a black ribbon that symbolizes sadness. In order to get help from the ordinary people to protest Ampo, this kind of quiet and peaceful demonstration is the only way to go.

Source: "A Quiet Demonstration," by Yagi Kitaro, *Asahi Shimbun* (April 12, 1960).

Document 6: "YWCA Opposes Ike Visit"
by Uemura Tamaki, YWCA President

This letter to the editor, from the president of Japan's YWCA, appeared in The Japan Times *on the same day as the previous letter. What does this writer recommend?*

To the Editor:

The National YWCA of Japan is greatly concerned about President Eisenhower's visit to our country at this particular time of political confusion and unrest. For it is our sincere wish to make his visit most significant for the good relations between the two countries and the peace of the world. But in the present situation we fear that it will work otherwise.

President Eisenhower is admired by the Japanese as a great peace-worker, and he will be heartily welcomed by all the nation at another time, but not at this critical hour. We understand the motive of his visit as augmentation of good-will between the two people. But his untimely visit will be misconstrued by many Japanese as involvement in Japanese politics and particularly with the specific administration. We are afraid that the President's coming to this country at this time will entail undesirable impact on future relations of the two countries, not to speak of possible effects detrimental to the development of democracy in Japan which is being threatened to be destroyed by the infringement of its spirit by the Kishi Government and this party.

The Japanese Government is without the full support of the ordinary people in welcoming the President of the U.S.A. and is not in the position to receive him in the way we wish to welcome him to our country. The opposition to the plan comes from unbiased citizens; professors, salarymen, housewives and non-Communist students, whose good intention is for the friendly relations of our countries.

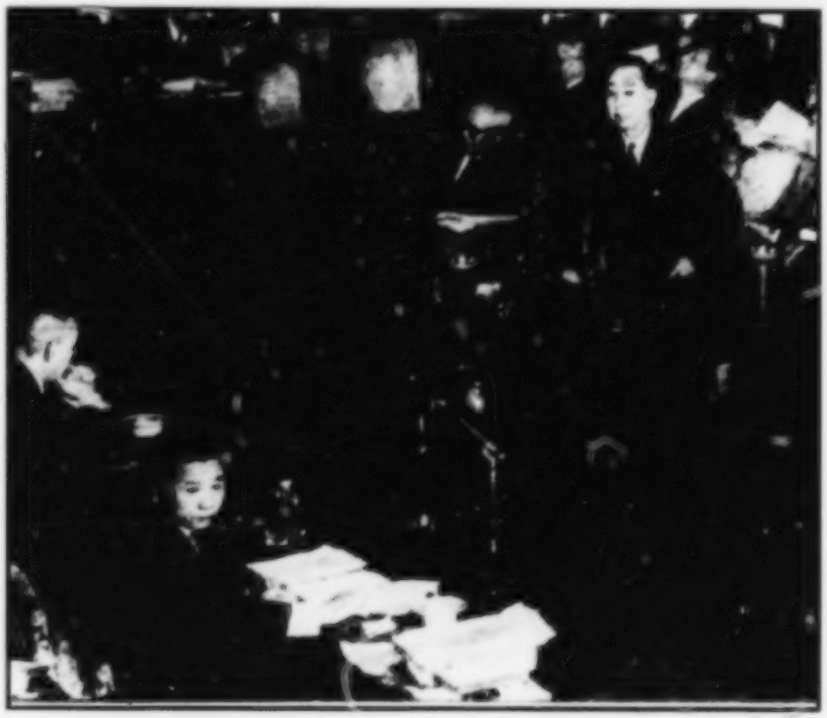
Mrs. Tamaki Uemura
President, Executive Committee of Japan
YWCA

Source: "YWCA Opposes Ike Visit," by Tamaki Uemura, *The Japan Times* (April 12, 1960), p. 8.

Photographs

Document 7: Photograph of Prime Minister Kishi Nobusuke

Kishi Nobusuke, Prime Minister of Japan from February 1957 to July 1960, promoted revision of the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty and was forced to resign at the height of the protests against it. Some observers argued that the protests were as much against Kishi as against the treaty itself. Is there anything about Kishi himself that might have alienated the Japanese public?

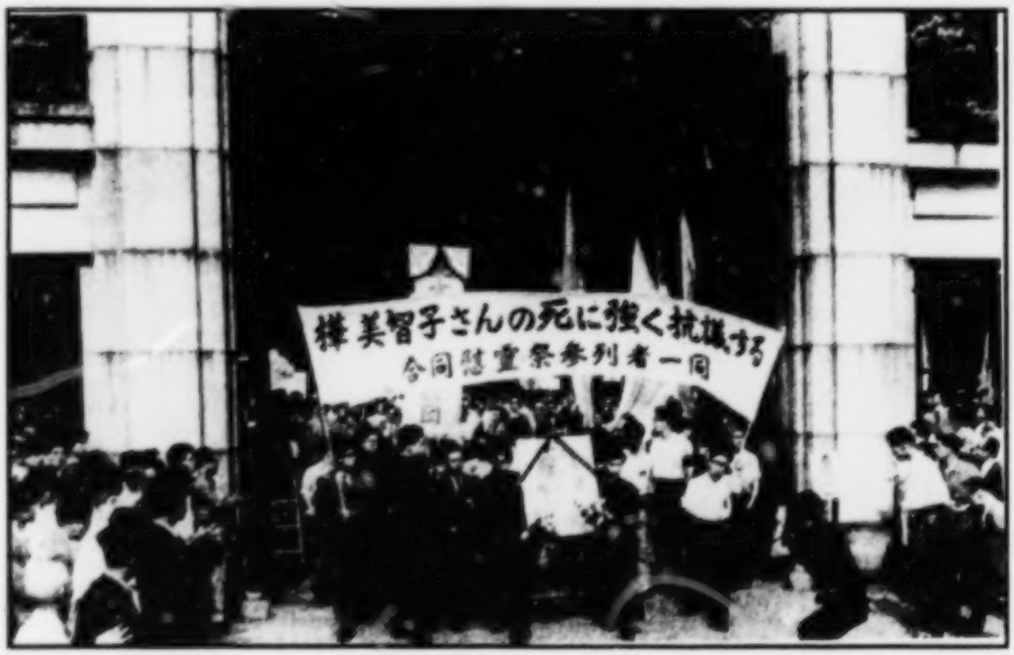


1896	Born in Yamaguchi prefecture
1920	Graduated from Tokyo University
1936-1939	Served in government positions in Manchuko, Japan's puppet state in China
1939-1940	Served as vice minister of commerce and industry, converting peacetime industries into wartime industries
1941-1944	Served in Tojo Hideki's wartime cabinet
1945	Imprisoned by Occupation authorities as a war criminal
1957	Elected by Diet as prime minister
1960	Forced to resign as prime minister
1960s-1980s	Continued to serve in the Diet
1987	Died August 7

Source: Photo used by permission of the Asahi Shimbun Company.

Document 8: Funeral Parade

This photo shows students in a funeral parade through the streets of Tokyo. They are carrying a picture of the deceased, Kamba Michiko, who died during one of the demonstrations. How might the death of a young person have influenced people?


樺美智子さんの死に強く抗議する
合同慰霊祭参列者一同

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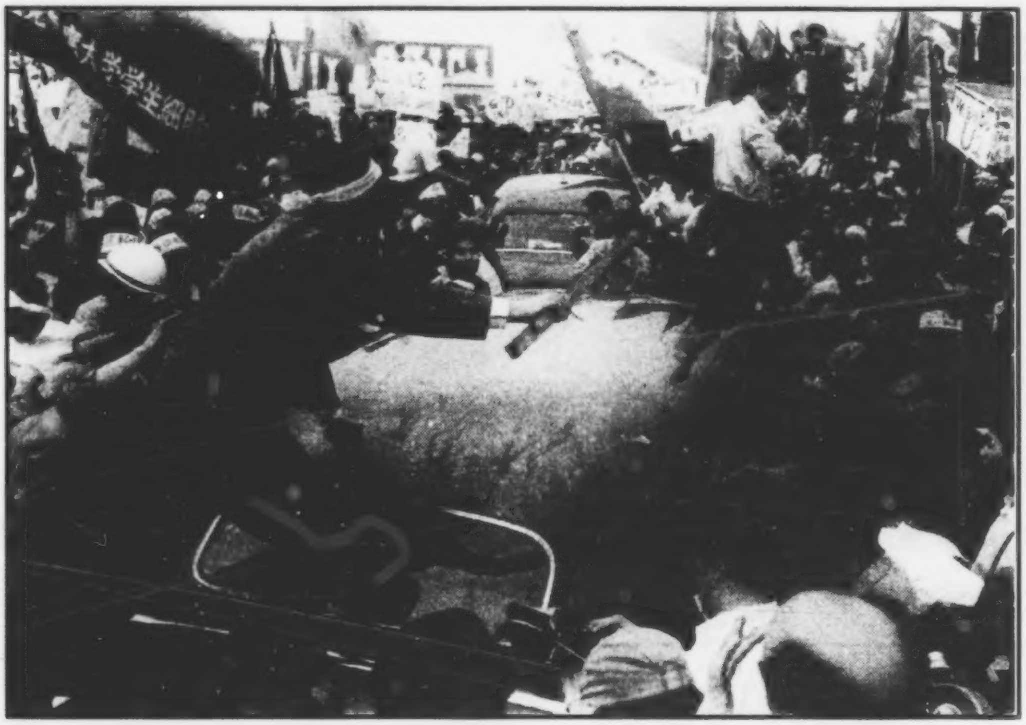
Source: Used by permission of the Asahi Shimbun Company.

Document 9: Protests Against President Eisenhower's Planned Visit to Japan

Protestors opposed to Eisenhower's visit to Japan stage a demonstration in the streets of Tokyo. Counterprotests by those supporting the visit also occurred.



Source: *Mainichi Daily News*. Used by permission.

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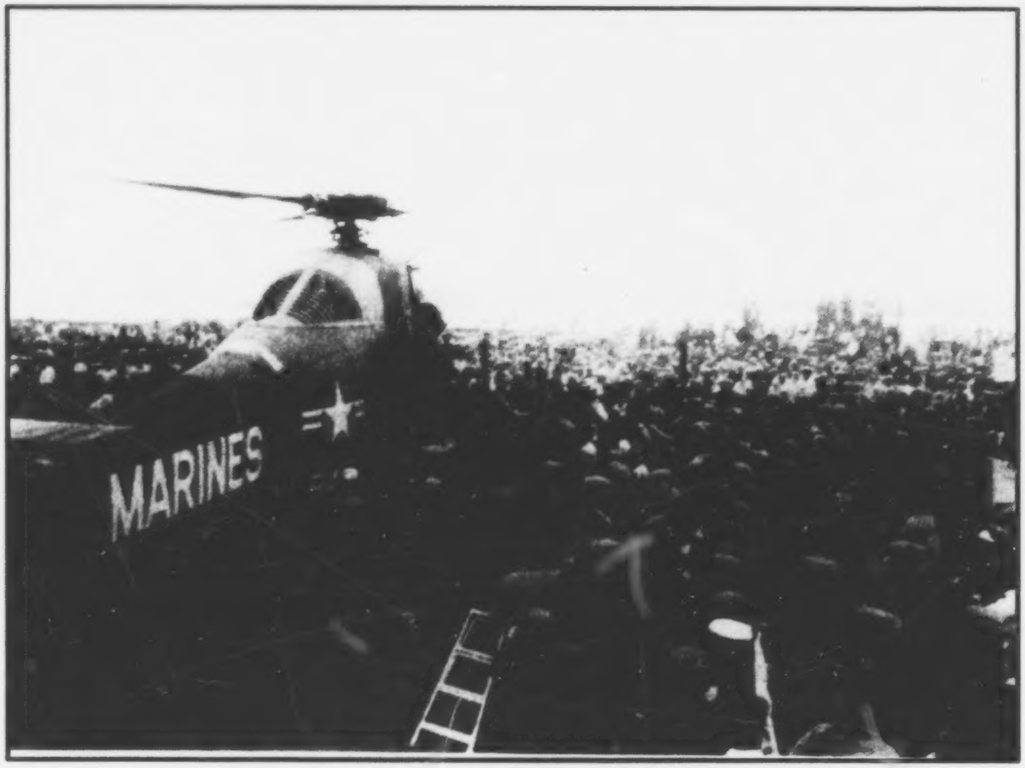
Document 10: A Helicopter Rescue

A Marine Corps helicopter rescues American officials as Tokyo demonstrators throw stones at them.



Source: *Mainichi Daily News.* Used by permission.

Opinions on the Treaty

Document 11: On the Revision of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty, 1960

This "opinion" was submitted to Prime Minister Kishi and Foreign Minister Fujiyama by Nishi Haruhiko, a retired career diplomat and former Ambassador to Great Britain (1955-1957). Nishi criticized the new treaty and argued that the United States would defend Japan regardless of whether it was bound to do so by any treaty. On what is Nishi's argument based?

It seems clear that the ruling Liberal Democratic Party is ready to reach a decision on the policy with regard to the revision of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty. There has been a great deal of discussion from different viewpoints on the Security Treaty revision in the Diet and elsewhere. However, the government has not elaborated on what should be the major points requiring revision, nor has it indicated how the revision will be effected. The debates in the Diet fail to give any further clarification. If the demands of the two nations can be met even in a small degree through this revision, it is to be welcomed. However, we must further investigate one problem, namely whether or not the international situations surrounding Japan today can permit her to effect a treaty revision without hindrance.

From this standpoint, I wish to treat the problem of our relations with the Soviet Union and Communist China. This is the problem often neglected. I wish to deal with it from the perspectives obtained through my personal experience. I hope not only the Japanese government but also the U.S. government, the other party to the negotiation, will take heed to what I shall discuss here.

If I may be permitted to give my conclusion first, I consider the proposed Security Treaty revision to contain enormous danger for our country when viewed from the perspective of our relations with the Soviet Union and China. Why is this so?

The Soviet Union has steadfastly maintained that the Security Treaty was imposed on powerless Japan by the United States at the time of the conclusion of the peace treaty. She has not condemned Japan on this account. However, the proposed revision of the pact will be carried out by the free will of Japan. Even if the revised treaty would contain the result of negotiations conducted in the spirit of give and take between Japan and the United States, it would be Japan who would be signing and ratifying the treaty. We must be prepared to face a protest coming from the Soviet Union and Communist China. Unless we are prepared to face this, we cannot begin negotiating for the treaty revision. It goes without saying that the Soviet Union and Communist China will hold Japan responsible for all the provisions of the treaty, not just those articles that are being revised.

Source: Extracted from *Kaiso no Nihon Gaiko (Reminiscences on Japanese Diplomacy)*, by Nishi Haruhiko (1965), pp. 183-189; reprinted in English in *Japan: A Documentary History*, by David J. Lu, published by M.E. Sharpe in 1997. Reprinted by permission from Iwanami Shoten, Publishers, Tokyo, and M.E. Sharpe, Armonk, NY 10504.

Setting aside the question of whether or not Okinawa and the Bonin islands should be placed under the application of the treaty, the problem that concerns me most is the fact that U.S. soldiers can embark from bases located within Japan. As it has been reported, after the treaty revision, consultation with or consent of the Japanese government will be required in this matter, and thus the American military's freedom of action will be somewhat more restricted than before. However, with the limitation thus set on the action of the American military, Japan will become equally responsible in that she is party to the American action. In this sense there is potentially a great danger. . . .

We must always bear in mind that once the United States accepts defense of Japan as an obligation under a treaty, the Soviet Union and Communist China will regard the treaty revision as merely a means to strengthen military cooperation between the United States and Japan, and they may begin putting pressure on Japan. . . .

In the conduct of foreign affairs, one cannot simply consider the self-interest of one's own nation. It is necessary to think of the positions of other nations, and consider all the possible implications. Otherwise we may regret a century later the actions we are taking today. In the Diet debates over the Security Pact revision, no attempt has been made by the government to consider our relations with the Soviet Union and Communist China. I am very much concerned about this omission. . . .

Document 12: Statement of Resignation

This statement of resignation followed the Japanese Diet's (legislature's) ratification of the Security Treaty on May 19. The author, Yoshimi Takeuchi, was a professor and China scholar at Tokyo Metropolitan University. What does he think will be the effect of the treaty on relations between Japan and China?

When I accepted my position as professor at Tokyo Metropolitan University, I took an oath as a public official to respect and uphold the constitution.

However, I believe that from May 20, we were bereft of parliamentarianism, a chief object of the constitution. Moreover, those responsible for depriving the Diet of its function as the nation's highest body were none other than the chair of the Lower House and our top public official, the prime minister. To continue my professorship at Tokyo Metropolitan University when the constitution is flouted in this way would violate not only the oath I took when I was hired but also my conscience as an educator. I have therefore resolved to resign.

I reached my decision independently, not through the intervention of anyone's wishes. No one pushed me to take such measures nor am I in any way urging others to do the same. I have the means to eke out a living through my writings, and, given that, I chose this path after careful deliberation as one possible way for me to make a protest.

I ask forgiveness for any trouble my resignation ends up causing my colleagues and students, and hope for their continued friendship in the future.

May 21, 1960
Yoshimi Takeuchi

Source: Wesley Sasaki-Uemura, *Organizing the Spontaneous: Citizen Protest in Postwar Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001). © University of Hawai'i Press. Used by permission.

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Document 13: The President of Tokyo University's Opinion about the Incident on June 15th, 1960

Throughout its history, Tokyo University has been Japan's most prestigious institution of higher learning. Following is the university president's comment on the protests of June 15 that resulted in the death of several students, including Kamba Michiko.

The protest students are responsible for the incident that created the death of the students [including Kamba Michiko]; however, it is clear that the police used excessive violence during the incident. As the president of Tokyo University, I strongly complain this point to the police force. Anyways, what really caused the incident was the bad decision of the government that decided to pass the Ampo without the democratic process. Then, they could not find a correct way for recovery of the function of the Diet. If they were able to function as a Diet through some method such as dissolving the Diet, the protesting students would be given a chance to express their opinion in a peaceful way. Then, this incident would not have occurred. In this chaotic situation, it is impossible for the university to play a responsible role as an academia. Under the circumstance of this chaotic politics, an educational method of persuading the students to be peaceful cannot be effective. First of all, we have to recover our responsible parliamentary democracy based on the constitution as soon as possible.

Source: *Asahi Shimbun* (June 17, 1960). Used by permission of the Asahi Shimbun Company.

Organizations' Views of the Security Treaty

Document 14: Formation of the People's Council for Preventing Revision of the Security Treaty, 1959

In 1959, the 15 nongovernmental organizations listed at the end of this document formed the People's Council for Preventing Revision of the Security Treaty. Do the organizations represent special interest groups or a variety of ordinary Japanese citizens—or both?

Through the Japan-U.S. security treaty and accompanying administrative and mutual security agreements, Japan has allowed American troops to be stationed on Japanese soil and provided military bases for them.

During this period, the Korean War and conflicts over the Taiwan strait occurred. These bases have thus become American outposts, and Japan has become a participant in these conflicts.

We are heavily burdened with fear when we see these bases, which were once maintained for the purpose of protecting us, being transformed into military outposts for attack.

When we protested against Sunakawa and other military bases, the Japanese government mobilized its police forces and let their sticks rain over farmers, workers, and students who were guarding their own land. The government willingly sacrificed the demands and interests of the Japanese people in order to follow faithfully the policy of the United States.

Through these variegated experiences, we have learned that the Japan-U.S. security treaty has obligated Japan to "restrict her independence and become a participant in conflicts without the knowledge of her people." Realization of that cold reality has been the motivating force in our continuing fight for its repeal.

Now the government is attempting to revise this treaty. The revision is not for the purpose of strengthening its provisions. With this revision, Japan will be obligated to engage in joint defense and will be asked to expand and strengthen the Self-Defense Forces and to begin her own nuclear armament. Japan may become an ally of South Korea and Taiwan and willingly supply military bases for attacking China and the Soviet Union. It means denial of our constitution and destruction of the bases of peace and democracy. These are serious matters, which will impact adversely on the destiny and future of Japan and of her people.

Let us not forget that irresponsible militarism and military alliances once led us into a path of war against China and other nations of Asia. It was done against the will of our people and forced us to suffer great miseries.

Source: Tsuji Kiyaoki, *Shiryo Sengo Nijunenshi (Sources on the History of the Two Decades after the War)*, vol. 1, *Seiji (Politics)* (Tokyo: Nihon Hyoronsha, 1966), pp. 144-45; reprinted in David J. Lu, *Japan: A Documentary History* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1997). Used by permission of Nihon Hyoronsha Publishers, Tokyo, and M.E. Sharpe, Inc., Armonk, NY 10504.

The path that the Kishi Cabinet is about to take is too similar to the path that we once trod.

We unequivocally oppose the revision of the security treaty, which will only endanger peace and democracy in Japan and destroy the lives of her people. . . .

If the working class does not rise up to prevent these policies, the Kishi Cabinet will be able to implement those warlike policies without resistance. Please hold study group meetings at once at your workplace. Make the general assembly of workers to be held on April 15 as the starting point and obtain a clear-cut consensus of our determination and resolve. . . .

> The Japan Socialist Party; National Federation of Farmers' Unions; National Federation for Safeguarding the Constitution; Japan Peace Committee; Japan Council against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs (Gensuikyo); Japan-China Friendship Association; People's Council for Restoration of Diplomatic Relations between Japan and China; Women's Council for Safeguarding Human Rights; National Liaison Council against Military Bases; Joint Struggle Council of Youths and Students; General Council of Trade Unions of Japan (Sohyo); Tokyo Joint Struggle Council for Safeguarding Peace and Democracy; and National Liaison Council of Neutral Labor Union.

Document 15: Flyer by the Voiceless Voices Distributed at the June 4 Demonstration

In response to a reporter who asked him why the demonstrations against him were receiving little public criticism, Prime Minister Kishi suggested that Japan should listen to the voiceless voices. "What we hear now are only the audible voices, that is all" (Packard, p. 245). After hearing this, a group of intellectuals formed an antigovernment demonstration group known as the Voiceless Voices Society. The Society distributed the flyer below at a demonstration on June 4. Does the flyer's message agree with Kishi's statement about the "silent majority"?

Anyone can join the Voiceless Voices!

Citizens! Let's all walk together. If only for five minutes or a hundred meters, let's walk together. We don't have any particular grand point of view nor are we loudly staking some claim. But even the "voiceless voices" can distinguish what is right and what's not, and we really want to protest to the government. So let's walk together and quietly show our opposition. Maybe you're busy with work every day and maybe you're embarrassed to take part in a demonstration, but if we give up and keep silent here and now, Japan will never get any better. We don't want to feel ashamed when our children ask some day, "What was everyone doing then?" In order to keep the deeds of May 19 from becoming an accepted fact, the Diet should be dissolved immediately and the treaty revoked. As for Prime Minister Kishi, who in his duty to America has trampled on his own people, he should resign. And until we see that happy day, the prime minister should postpone Ike's state visit to Japan, which he is using [for his own purposes]. Citizens all, be brave! Walk with us; show them how we feel.

Source: Wesley Sasaki-Uemura, *Organizing the Spontaneous: Citizen Protest in Postwar Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001). © University of Hawai'i Press. Used by permission.

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Poetry

Document 16: The Record
by Inaba Yoshikazu

The following poem, written by Inaba Yoshikazu, a Japan National Railways worker, offers impressions of events that occurred during the course of the struggle to open the Diet (Japan's national legislature). What is his message?

[1]
Since I lost the game of paper-rock-scissors,
I had to go to the mobilization that night.
I had no rain gear.
My body should have been toughened by work,
but the Main rain made me shiver.
But that's okay.
Look at that girl's hips.
They're so big.
They're soaked to the skin.
They shed the water.
And so
That girl demonstrating and shouting "down with the treaty"
had surprising sex appeal.

"Hey girl! You do that and you won't be able to have kids!"
I bantered as I strolled along
That girl's round hips crossed my mind.

[2]
In the scrum
I clung to a red flag.
Spotlights were swarming and
I was bathed in flashes of light.
The night was broken into pieces.

Shards of light carved into our cheeks
and scattered.
I couldn't stop my knees from shaking.

Source: Wesley Sasaki-Uemura, *Organizing the Spontaneous: Citizen Protest in Postwar Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001). © University of Hawai'i Press. Used by permission.

June 15—evening
under the armored truck's headlights
iron helmets gleam
They wield clubs and get ready to charge
While taking that stance,
some guy is smirking
the distorted reflection of my face
on his wet helmet.

> The guy glared at me
> I glared back at him fiercely.
> But then I—
> an utter coward—
> dropped my gaze, flustered.
> To cover my embarrassment I grinned.
> The guy seemed to be sneering beneath his helmet.

Someone threw a stone.
It bounded off a helmet, making a dull thud
In an instant
The strained atmosphere shot sharply through my pupils
The armored truck's loudspeakers
raised a high-pitched sound, signaling the charge.

Flares popped off.
My guts blanched and turned inside out.
When the tear gas canisters exploded, my vision became hazy.
Through the haze off in the distance
Riot police helmets wriggled back and forth pressing closer.

They raced in shouting and swinging their clubs.
Clumsily I tried to cover the back of the student's uniform next to me.
I heard a dull sound over my head.
The student squatted down holding his head.
Dark blood gushed out from between his slender fingers.

I winced, a sharp blow
easily smashed my shoulder blade.
We had nowhere to run
Unless we could escape to a dark cellar the size of our own pupils.

> The terrorists shouted,
> "We want machine guns!"
> The terrorist inside me cried out
> "I'll blow their brains out!"
> I shouted out as I twisted my body

I had no feeling in my body for a while.
"I might get killed."
With this awareness
I suddenly thought of the round breasts of that girl to whom
I couldn't say "I love you" yet.

"Hey student! We can't die yet! What a waste!"
I was holding a student
while the wet asphalt made me slip
we crawled away as billy clubs rained down.

Anyway
We've got to get away where there are no clubs.
But
We can't stray far from the Diet.
So we put our arms around each other's shoulders
like old, old friends
and hung around the Diet.

[3]
The crane thrust straight up into the June sky.

The treaty was ratified.
I went underneath the train
like I had so many times for so many years.
I scraped off the sticky mud.
My nostrils readily sucked in the dust.

Unconsciously I frowned
So
why am I so light-hearted.
Humming as I tightened the bolts
my heart was overflowing.
What on earth was happening?

Fifty tons was lightly carried up to the sky.

Next time I'll tell her,
I'll tell that girl straight out, "I love you."

Document 17: Beneath the Same Sky—The Students and Police of Ampo
by Kurihara Sadako

Kurihara Sadako, an antinuclear activist who writes poems and essays and edits "atomic bomb literature," was born in Hiroshima in 1913. She was living in Hiroshima when the atomic bomb was dropped in 1945. Kurihara wrote the poem below in July 1960. What is her message?

It is not friend and foe
who inflict injury on each other;
it is not the blood of friend and foe
that is shed;
it is fellow countrymen
who drown in blood. . . .
You attack us
with helmets and nightsticks;
we hold you off
with placards.
What sets you and us
at each others' throats?

You
armed with helmets and pistols:
do you know
—that when the atomic bomb fell on Hiroshima,
thousands of soldiers
were charred black and died, helmets and all?
—that in the rubble of the parade ground, still as death,
exposed with the bones
for months
to sun and rain,
lay countless rusting red helmets?

What do you think will happen
after you with your helmets and nightsticks
spill our blood
and silence us?

For we and you
live beneath the same sky,
and neither we nor you
can escape
our shared fate.

Source: From "Beneath the Same Sky," pp. 221-222 of *Black Eggs: Poems by Kurihara Sadako*, by Kurihara Sadako, translated with an introduction and notes by Richard H. Minear, Michigan Monograph Series in Japanese Studies, Number 12 (Ann Arbor, MI: Center for Japanese Studies, The University of Michigan, 1994). Used with permission.

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Songs Popular During the Demonstrations

Document 18: The Internationale

Students and other demonstrators against the revision often sang "The Internationale," which, although written and composed by French workers in the late 19th century, was associated with the Soviet Union at the time of the demonstrations. What is the sentiment expressed in the first verse and chorus, presented below?

Arise ye workers from your slumbers
Arise ye prisoners of want
For reason in revolt now thunders
And at last ends the age of cant.
Away with all your superstitions
Servile masses arise, arise
We'll change henceforth the old tradition
And spurn the dust to win the prize.

Chorus

So comrades, come rally
And the last fight let us face
The Internationale unites the human race.
So comrades, come rally
And the last fight let us face
The Internationale unites the human race.

1　起て　飢えたる者よ　今ぞ日は近し
さめよ　我が同胞（はらから）　暁は来ぬ
暴虐の鎖　断つ日　旗は血に燃えて
海をへだてつ　われら
腕（かいな）むすびゆく

いざ　たたかわん　いざ
ふるいたて　いざ
インターナショナル
われらがもの

いざ　たたかわん　いざ
ふるいたて　いざ
インターナショナル
われらがもの

Source: www.sacp.org.za/gen/internationale.html

Document 19: Tachiagare (Rise Up)
by Hayashi Hikaru and Sekine Hiroshi

Another song popular with students was one written for the demonstrations. It was called "Tachiagare" (Rise Up). A stanza appears below. What is the sentiment expressed here?

Tachiagaru toki da, taisetsu na toki wa ima,
Kodomo-tachi no mirai no tame ni,
Nikushimi no hi ga moeagaranai uchi ni
Hitoashi hayaku keshitomete shimau no da.
Tate, tate, tachiagre, tachiagare!

Now is the time to rise up, now is the vital moment,
For our children's future,
Before the flames of hatred flare up
Let us quickly extinguish the fire.
Stand up, stand up, arise, arise!

Source: Packard, George R. III. *Protest in Tokyo: The Security Treaty Crisis of 1960*. Copyright © 1966, renewed 1994 by Princeton University Press. Reprinted by permission of Princeton University Press.

Oral Histories

The following interviews were conducted long after the fact with Japanese people who were in their late teens or early twenties and living (and studying or working) in Tokyo during the demonstrations against the revision of the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty. Since these interviews were conducted between 30 and 40 years after the demonstrations, how might the time lapse have affected the interviewees' responses?

Document 20:
Interview with Kato Koichi:
Todai and the Anti-U.S.-Japan Security Treaty Movement

Question: "Almost all the Todai [Tokyo University] people I have spoken with have said that the entrance test was the biggest hurdle, the most difficult part, and that they had a relaxed life at Todai at least for the first two years. Was that true for you, too?"

". . . I don't think back on those school days that often now, but they were not always so happy and easygoing. The Ampo Movement (Anti-U.S.-Japan Security Treaty Movement) was already starting at Todai in 1959, when I was there. Unless you joined that movement and were pro-socialist, you were labeled as a . . . reactionary . . . not intellectual . . . a bad person. That was the atmosphere. So, I was caught in the middle. My father, the LDP Dietman, supported the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty and the 1960 revision. But all my classmates kept saying that the Ampo (Security Treaty) was bad—fundamentally wrong, because it was against Communist China and the Soviet Union. In those days, we had a utopian vision, especially of China. In Peking, the streets were spotless, there were no flies, and all the people were working unselfishly for the public good and for world peace. In the eyes of the students, the U.S. was an aggressive, Imperialist country . . . very warlike and dangerous . . . ready to drag Japan into a war. So, it was wrong for Japan to cooperate with the U.S. against these good, peace-loving Socialist countries.

"I was pulled back and forth. In my mind, I mostly agreed with my classmates. But here (pointing at his stomach) in my guts, I had a loyalty for my father. It was not such an easy time. I was never sure what to do."

Question: "Did you participate in the Ampo demonstrations against the treaty and Prime Minister Kishi (Nobusuke Kishi) in the spring of 1960, as so many other students did?"

"At the final stage, I at last went into one demo (demonstration). Even then, I was half-hearted about it. It was in June of 1960. I felt that Kishi was . . . really undemocratic. That his maneuvers in the Diet were almost illegal. So, I had to resist his policies. (shaking his head in some dismay) But even then, I wasn't really confident what to do."

Source: *The Human Face of Japan's Leadership: Twelve Portraits*, by Martin E. Weinstein. Copyright © 1989 by Martin E. Weinstein. Reproduced with permission of Greenwood Publishing Group, Inc., Westport, CT.

Question: "Did it cause you much trouble at home?"

"Not so much. My father did not take the student movement . . . very seriously. He probably saw it as a passing stage. His idea, even then, was that I would succeed him in his Diet seat. He planned to retire after a few more years in the Diet and become mayor of Tsuruoka again. As mayor, he would hold the constituency together, and then some years after I graduated from college, he thought I would become a young Dietman and take his seat."

Comment: "Well, it sounds from your tone as though you may not have agreed with all of his ideas."

"It was a . . . messy time for me. All through high school I was under my father's . . . invisible guidance. He did not tell me what to do, or order me. But I had enormous respect for him. I wanted to please him, and I knew what he wanted me to do. To get into Todai. So I worked very hard . . . for his sake. Then, when I entered Todai in 1959 during the Ampo Movement, my feelings about my father began to change . . . gradually change. Because I was not sure which side was right, the Ampo students or my father. You know, in the summer of 1960, after Kishi forced the revised Security Treaty through the Diet, he was forced to step down and Ikeda (Hayato Ikeda) became prime minister. In the fall, several months later, Ikeda called a general election. I worked in my father's election campaign. (pause, looking at me seriously and picking his words slowly and carefully) During that election campaign, I lost my respect for my father. Maybe I had too much respect before then. Maybe this . . . breaking away. . . came too late. Maybe . . . I should have had a more independent mind by the time I entered the university. Anyway, after that election campaign, I psychologically . . . left my father.

"I decided I wanted to become a journalist, to join the Asahi Newspaper (at that time, Japan's largest and most influential national daily, known for its outspoken criticism of government policy and its sympathy for the Socialist Opposition). I wanted people all over the country to read my articles in the Asahi. That was my ambition in those days. (smiling reminiscently) You know, for our Ampo generation, joining the Asahi was a beautiful idea.

(chuckling) If we went into the Civil Service, or joined a big company like steel or a trading company, we would make a good salary, but we would have to become a running dog for the Capitalist-Imperialists. If we joined the Asahi, we could also make a good salary and have a good life, and at the same time, we could attack the Capitalist-Imperialists every day in the newspaper. (both laughing) Beautiful, eh?" . . .

Document 21: Interview with Kubota Hiroshi

Kubota Hiromi interviewed her father, Kubota Hiroshi, on February 8 and 14, 2001. Kubota Hiroshi was born in 1942 and graduated from Keio University in 1965.

Q: Did you witness the Students' Movement in the 1960s while you were in college?

A: When the Ampo Movement was active around 1960, I was in Keio Gijuku High School, and I was too young to be interested in the issue. When Zenkyoto [the movement to reduce college tuition] began, I already graduated from college. I was aware that while I was in college, there were some politically active colleges, but Keio University did not have that kind of political atmosphere at all. I have no memory of seeing protesting placards at Keio. Also, the tuition of Keio University was cheaper as compared with other private colleges, so Zenkyoto—a movement for reducing tuition—could not fight for that reason.

Q: What percentage of Keio University's students joined the series of student movements?

A: I would say less than 1 percent. Keio University's school color did not match the political aspect of the movement. Especially, the *naibu* students who graduated from Keio Gijuku High School land entered Keio University were more joyful, and were not interested in the movement. We were totally non-poli [a word for nonpolitical students]. I did not even talk about the movement with my *naibu* friends, who also graduated from Keio Gijuku High School and entered Keio University, while I was in college. The *gaibu* students who graduated from other high schools and entered Keio University had more tendency to join the movement because they did not have an essence of the school color of Keio.

I was just an onlooker of the Students' Movement without thinking about it. I did not see any reason to close the campus like Tokyo University's students did. I was like "Why?" To me, that kind of activity was so far away from my college life. When I heard their story, I felt as if I was listening to a story from some other world.

Q: Did you ever see a student demonstration?

A: Yes. On news TV, but not in real life. Again, when I had watched their demonstration, which involved violence, I felt as if that was a story from a foreign country. I could not feel reality about it at all.

Q: Did you go to a protest meeting?

A: I remember there were three protest meetings at Keio University by Zenkyoto, and I went to one of them for unusualness of having a meeting at Keio University. My impression was that they were trying to use "big words" from Marx and Lenin's ideology. Nothing about them was impressive. They were just different in terms of their political interest.

Q: Do you remember a significant event of the movement?

A: I did not join any activities for the movement, but I remember the death of Kamba Michiko.

Q: Who is Kamba Michiko?

A: She was a student of Tokyo University. She died during the protest demonstration in front of the Diet Building. Her death made her a heroine of the movement; at the same time, it was the first step of collapse of the Kishi cabinet.

Q: Do you have any idea what happened in later years to the students who were involved with the movement?

A: When they became seniors, they cut their hair, and left the movement to get a job at a famous and big company just like other students.

Q: At this point, what do you think about the Students' Movement in the 1960s?

A: That was a trend at that time period. In the 1960s, Japan was experiencing a rapid growth financially and politically. It was one of the passage points that Japan had to go through as a developing nation. For example, Indonesia is having a series of protest demonstrations and terrorism now because they are at the point to take off.

Q: In the 1960s, I did not think about the Students' Movement. In later years, it made sense to me. It was a passage point of Japan.

A: When we see the Students' Movement on TV, it seems such a major event. But the fact is that the majority of Japanese were just observers, and only a small number of minorities joined the movement.

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Document 22: Interview with Ono M.

Ono Kinichi and Kubota Hiromi interviewed Ono M. on February 11, 2001. Ono was born in 1950 and grew up in Kawagoe (Saitama prefecture). She graduated from Meisei University and is currently a grade school teacher.

Q: How did you become involved with the Student Movement in 1960?

A: I was majoring in education at the college, and I belonged to a socialist group, which was managed by the students in the department. That was the first step of my involvement with the Students' Movement.

Q: What percentage of the students in your college joined the Student Movement?

A: Several percent. Since the president of the college was right wing, protest activities were restricted on campus. The college was conservative. Our socialist group cooperated with the socialist groups from Waseda, Meiji, Tokyo, and other universities.

Q: What did you think about students who were not active in the movement?

A: We tried to influence them by distributing handouts and having meetings. The majority of left wing groups relied on these two activities. In contrast, radical left wings used violent methods to influence the nonpolitical students. Serious students tended to be more radical than other students.

Q: Did you see any big protest demonstrations that involved the police?

A: I was in many demonstrations. One of the biggest events I joined was when we closed Shinjuku station. Although that involved some violent conflict between the students and police, I did not feel fear. It was kind of fun.

The incidents of Yasuda Hall at Tokyo University and Asama Samsou had changed both moderate and radicals' attitudes toward violence: Violence cannot change anything. Those were the last events of the Student Movements. Most students left the movement, and ultra-radicals left Japan.

Q: What was the reason you left the socialist group and quit activities?

A: I needed to leave the group in order to get a job. At that time, major companies were cautious about left-wingers. They did not want to employ "student warriors."

5

Life in the Fast Lane: The Period of High-Speed Economic Growth Reflected in Japanese Society and Culture

Introduction: In the economic periodization often applied to contemporary Japanese history, the immediate postwar period (1945-1954) is described as a *period of recovery and reform*. The succeeding years, from 1955 to approximately 1973, are characterized as the *period of high-speed growth*. Issued in 1956, a Japanese government White Paper on government and economic trends set the tone. The White Paper noted that the Japanese economy had recovered from the devastation of the war and that the "postwar" had ended. In turn, the era of high-speed growth is considered to have ended in the early 1970s with the "Nixon China shocks" and the "oil shock" brought on by the Arab oil embargo.

The period of high-speed growth was characterized by a continuously expanding economy for the nation and a continuously improving standard of living for most Japanese. In 1956, the government of Prime Minister Ikeda Hayato set a goal that Japanese household income would double within 10 years, a goal considered lofty and optimistic at the time. In less than 10 years, however, Japan had achieved the goal.

What did it mean to be Japanese during this period? For many ordinary people, it meant aspiring to or seeing oneself and one's family as members of a comfortable middle class. A consumer lifestyle was promoted by a government dedicated to national economic growth, and most Japanese people embraced this ideal. Polls indicated that, by the early 1970s, over 50 percent of Japanese considered themselves middle class.

In this lesson, students analyze varied source materials to explore the middle-class ideal as advertised and experienced in Japan from 1955 to 1973. To a great degree, this ideal—an urban family with a *sarariman* (salary man) husband heading a financially comfortable family that included a non-employed wife and college-bound children—became the stereotype by which Westerners came to picture and understand Japanese society in the latter part of the 20th century. Today this stereotype persists, although Japanese society has changed.

Note that Lesson 6 looks at environmental and health-related costs of rapid economic growth while Lesson 7 considers groups of Japanese who did not or could not obtain middle-class status or share in the prosperity of the times. By undertaking Lessons 6 and 7 with this lesson, students will analyze a range of Japanese experiences during a period of rising comfort and prosperity. The differential impact of prosperity in Japan may be used as a point of comparison with social and economic conditions in the United States during the same period.

Objectives: At the conclusion of this lesson, students will be able to:

1. Describe the goals for Japanese growth and societal change set forth in the Japanese government White Paper of 1956.
2. Recognize why establishing a goal of social and economic comfort served politically strategic purposes during the early 1960s.

3. Identify components of middle class life in Japan at this time and analyze how this middle-class ideal was commodified and marketed.

4. Synthesize learning by creating a profile of the middle class.

Time Required: 2-3 class periods

Materials: Copies of Handouts 5A, 5B (optional), and 5C for all students; several copies of Handout 5D; if you have access to Japanese magazines of the 1960s such as *Chuo Koron* (available at many university libraries), you may want to make copies of ads for consumer goods (we have been unable to gain permission to reproduce any such ads) for students to examine

Procedure:

Part I: Japanese Government Policy

1. Ask students if they have ever seen reruns of popular 1950s, 1960s, or 1970s TV sitcoms about family life—programs such as *Leave It To Beaver, Father Knows Best, The Donna Reed Show, The Dick Van Dyke Show, The Brady Bunch*—or more recent programs depicting life in those decades, such as *The Wonder Years* (a 1990s show depicting life in the late 1960s) and *That '70s Show*. Alternatively, bring in one or two videos of one of these programs (available at many large video stores) and show excerpts, asking students to consider the image of American life portrayed. Use the following questions to prompt analysis of the programs:

- What was the lifestyle portrayed in these programs?
- What were the roles of father, mother, and children in the programs?
- What occupations did parents have?
- What were houses like? What were the communities like?
- Were these comfortable lifestyles and, if so, what made them comfortable?
- Did these shows portray an "ideal" in American society? How would you characterize that ideal (both positive and negative aspects)? Was the ideal also a reality? For most Americans or some? Who was ***not*** depicted in these programs?

Tell students that just as American society was characterized by a strong economy, a comfortable standard of living, and a dominant middle class in the 1950s through early 1970s, the Japanese government and people were motivated to achieve a comparable national standard of living. Explain that, in this lesson, students will consider Japanese lifestyles, societal values and ideals, and family roles as reflections of government and individual goals. Students will focus on the question: How did the Japanese government, as well as Japanese people and groups, see themselves and their nation during a period of rapid growth in the 1950s, 1960s, and early 1970s?

2. Distribute Handout 5A, which contains three landmark Japanese government statements that set goals and policies to guide economic development from roughly 1956 to 1973. Before the class analyzes the documents, make sure students understand the meaning of Gross National Product—the money value of the total output of a nation's goods and services in a given year—and why GNP is considered a measure of a nation's economic health. Organize students into three groups, asking each group to analyze one of the documents in depth. Focus questions are provided for each document. Allow 10 to 15 minutes for groups to read their documents and answer the focus questions. Next, have the three groups jigsaw to form six new groups with at least one member from the original three groups in each new, smaller working group. In their new groups, students should share information on the documents that they analyzed, using their focus questions as a guide. Allow 10 minutes for this sharing.

3. Once members of the groups have had time to share, you may check for understanding as a full class by considering the following questions.

- How was the 1956 White Paper proclaiming the end of the postwar significant?
- What does the term *postwar* imply in terms of economic conditions and goals? Social conditions and goals?
- How might individual attitudes change if the government declared that the postwar was over? How might national and personal economic goals be changed by the proclamation that the postwar period was officially over?

4. (Optional) Distribute Handout 5B to the six groups. The assignment for each small group is to create a poster using words and images to clarify important aspects—goals, measures, and social/economic benefits—of the 1956 White Paper and the 1960 Income Doubling Plan to the Japanese population in 1960. To help students get started, explain that they could choose to create visuals that present concrete ways that life might improve for Japanese people overall and/or for the different groups within Japan that are named in the government documents (e.g., farmers and non-farmers, people in different regions). Poster visuals could portray what an ideal lifestyle or typical family life might be at the end of the 10-year income doubling plan (1970) or they could focus on how the plan would change the role and status of Japan in the world. The student posters might feature slogans that would serve to popularize the government economic plan and goals to the Japanese people.

Allow time for students to present and discuss their posters or post the work and allow time over the next several days for students to review the posters individually. Each student should pick one poster and answer questions about it based on the criteria listed in Handout 5B.

Part II: Japanese Lifestyles and Standard of Living

1. In a short introductory lecture, provide students with basic information:

- By 1955, Japan had recovered substantially from the war and industry was healthy, but average Japanese had not reaped many of the benefits of economic recovery. People were still living at a very modest standard of living.
- The government saw demonstrations and strikes as a reflection of people's dissatisfaction with their quality of life and inability to share in Japan's success.
- Ikeda Hayato, the prime minister who took over in the wake of the Ampo riots, set an ambitious goal for continued economic growth that would include the Japanese people as beneficiaries of growth. The Income Doubling Plan of 1960 established the goal of doubling the nation's GNP and, at the same time, doubling the average Japanese family's income by 1970. The plan also promised full employment.
- This plan, along with other factors, set into motion a period of rapid economic growth. Japanese people, with a secure economy, set their sights on improving the quality of their lives and taking advantage of their greater income. The period of high-speed growth, from 1955 to the early 1970s, saw the growth of a consumer economy, middle-class identity, and middle-class ideals in Japan.
- As in the United States, people in Japan sought a "good life" and were not as troubled by social issues and economic woes as they had been earlier in the century.

2. Distribute Handout 5C, which presents a brief background essay on the period and profiles of "average Japanese" during the 1960s. Alert students to the fact that, while many people did not fit into this average lifestyle, these profiles are useful in considering how the majority of Japanese saw themselves or envisioned who they wanted to become. (***Note:*** The stories of people left out of this "Japanese dream" are the subject of Lesson 7.) Students should complete the reading and answer the questions during the remainder of class and for homework.

3. Debrief the reading by focusing class discussion on what it meant, according to the information presented, to be middle class in Japan in the 1960s. What were the concerns of middle-class Japanese families? How did they measure comfort and success? What products did they want to own?

4. Read students the following statement, which picks up on one of the trends in Japan in the 1960s that was discussed in Handout 5A—the role of advertising in defining the middle class.

> For Japanese in the 1960s, being middle class was defined by what commodities a family owned as much as—or more than—where they lived or what the breadwinner did for a living. And advertising alerted people to exactly what commodities they should buy to be middle class.

Ask students to react to the statement. Next, ask students to consider what kinds of images might be used to sell products in 1960s Japan if advertisements did indeed define the middle class. *They would show happy, well-dressed families with nice homes and cars, using the types of products middle-class families wanted to own (electrical appliances, cars, color televisions, and so on) and taking part in activities viewed as middle class (taking vacations, washing the car, and so on).*

5. Again form three groups. Provide each group with several copies of Handout 5D, a primary source data packet, and assign each group a particular role—(1) salary man/father, (2) salary man's wife/*kyoiku mama*, or (3) children. Each group should first consider how Handout 5C described their role. They are then to review the data packet, selecting items the group believes are useful in profiling and understanding the role of the particular member of a middle-class Japanese family—what that person wants in life, what his or her day is like, what he or she owns, what his or her issues are. Each group will then put together the data it has collected, from both the data packet and Handout 5C, to create an episode for a popular sitcom, a magazine targeted to the group, or an advertisement for a new product manufactured specifically to appeal to the interests of the group.

Recommended Films: *Good Morning (Ohayo)* (Ozu Yasujiro, 1959) is a delightful comedy about two little boys who live with their parents in a suburban Tokyo housing development. After an argument with their parents, who refuse to buy a television set and tell them to "shut up," they do, not speaking to anyone. When they refuse to say even "good morning" to neighbors, their silence is misinterpreted as a family and neighborhood quarrel. Of course, all ends happily when the father buys the television set. This is one of Ozu's most accessible films for students.

Answer Key for Lesson 5

Handout 5A: Economic White Paper

1. The author of the White Paper evoked the image of Japan at the end of World War II. What was the economic reality at that time and at the time this paper was written in 1956? *At the end of the war, Japan was devastated and the economy was in shambles. By 1956, the economy had recovered: income and production levels were twice as high as prewar, and the economy was growing rapidly.*

2. Why was the author so optimistic about the economy? What major milestones in economic recovery had been reached at the time this document was written? *Major milestones: production and income levels double that of prewar highs. The author was optimistic because of an ideal conjuncture of economic factors— positive balance of international trade without inflation, amelioration of corporate debt, and decreasing interest rates. The author had not seen such an economic environment since the economic growth following the Russo-Japanese War in 1906. In addition, he noted that Japan's post-WWII economy compared to West Germany's, which was considered an economic miracle.*

3. What was the major challenge facing Japan's economy in 1956? What were the short-term costs and benefits? Long-term costs and benefits? *The major challenge was adapting and modernizing to maintain the rate of growth and the current economic prosperity. This modernization rested on technological change in industry and renovation of the economic structure. Short-term impact: the costs of transformation, including economic displacement, loss of jobs, retraining, which would affect small businesses and agriculture the most. Long-term impact: small- and medium-sized businesses, labor, and agriculture would benefit. Japanese economy would modernize and continue to be competitive worldwide.*

4. How did the author use history to emphasize important points about the present and future of the Japanese economy in 1956? *The author compared the economy in 1945 and 1956. He also compared the economic health and enthusiasm of the people with the time immediately following the Russo-Japanese War. But he cautioned that the economic goals engendered by victory in that war led Japan on a disastrous road toward expansion and war.*

5. The paper identified several sectors of the economy that had not yet benefited from economic growth. What sectors were these? *Small- to medium-sized enterprises, backward regions, agriculture.*

6. Why would the statement that the postwar was over be so important to the attitudes and outlook of Japanese society? *The statement signaled that the government had turned the corner and put the war years behind it, economically speaking. Psychologically, this was a significant boost to the morale of Japanese people—a sign that the suffering of the long war and recovery periods was over and that life was going to improve.*

Background for Income Doubling Plan

1. How did Japan's actual economic growth rate between 1957 and 1960 compare with the projected growth rate for that period? *The growth rate was 8.3 percent per year compared to the projected growth rate of 6.5 percent per year.*

2. The paper identified several factors that enabled Japan to experience such rapid growth. For each factor below, explain how it contributed to the positive economic situation of 1960.

   - Factor 1: growth rate. *The growth rate remained very high even after recovery had "ended"; e.g., in 1960 it was at about ten percent.*
   - Factor 2: stable savings and investment. *Savings and investment remained well balanced, price levels stable, and inflation low, keeping the economy healthy.*
   - Factor 3: industrial advances. *Industrial organization and renovation took place at a faster rate than expected, due to the high rate of economic growth overall. Economic growth meant funds available for new plants and equipment and to support an ongoing technological modernization of industrial facilities.*
   - Factor 4: population changes. *The population pattern was changing with fewer births. Lower population would mean a smaller pool of workers, which would raise wages.*

3. According to this paper, how did "the people" figure into the planning for the future? *The people were to be beneficiaries and partners in the plan. By saying that the plan could not be injurious to the people, the government made a commitment to include them in the rewards of economic prosperity.*

4. How would you describe the tone of this document? How do you think Japanese people might have reacted to it? *It is serious about the objectives but optimistic about the outcomes. Japanese people, presumably, would be happy or excited about the plan.*

Plan for Doubling Individual Income

1. What were the three economic goals of the Income Doubling Plan? *Doubling gross national product, attainment of full employment, and raising the living standard of all Japanese.*

2. According to the plan, gaps within which four sectors of the economy needed to be balanced during the course of the next ten years? Identify a specific measure to be taken to address each of these imbalances.

   - *Farming vs. non-farming: modernization of agriculture, enhancement of fishing.*
   - *Large vs. small- and medium-sized enterprises: modernization of medium and small enterprises.*
   - *Urban vs. rural sectors: develop less-developed regions through a multipurpose development of the land, tax incentives, financing.*
   - *High- and low-income groups: modernization of agriculture, smaller businesses, and rural sectors to result in improved income for low-income groups.*

3. Examine the document for specific references to how the Japanese people figured into this plan. How were they targeted within the plan? How were their lives to improve? *People who had not benefited from the postwar recovery were specifically targeted within this document (e.g., farmers, fishermen, laborers, small business people). Their incomes—and with that, their quality of living—would improve.*

4. How would you describe the tone of this document? How do you think Japanese people would have reacted to it? *The tone is serious, committed, and promising. Japanese people would presumably have been enthusiastic and optimistic about the promised changes.*

Government Documents Defining High-Speed Growth

This handout contains three short government statements that defined the goals and strategies for a national program of high-speed economic growth in Japan in the late 1950s and 1960s. To analyze these documents and their impact on the Japanese people and the nation, you will first work in a three-student group to study one of the documents, as assigned by your teacher. When your group has finished reading and discussing your assigned document, you will split up and form new groups with class members who have read the other two documents. Members of these new groups will teach others about the documents they read. Questions to guide discussion are provided at the end of each document.

Economic White Paper, 1956

Published following a year of remarkable economic growth, the Japanese government's 1956 White Paper applauded economic growth to date and outlined challenges to sustaining such growth. It warned that the economy was shifting from a relatively straightforward period of recovery to a time when more complicated strategies would be necessary. Among these new strategies would be investment in new technologies that might be costly and disruptive at the outset but, the government assured, would pay off in the end. What has made this White Paper a landmark document is the simple statement, buried in the introduction, that "the postwar is over." This statement was picked up by the government, media, and people. It became a "buzz" phrase that fed the optimism of the next 15 years. As a group, read the excerpt below and use the focus questions to prepare to teach others about this document.

During the ten postwar years the Japanese economy has achieved a conspicuous recovery. Probably no one standing upon that devastated burned earth immediately after the end of the war would have imagined that the scale of production and the life of the people would recover to this point in only ten years. National income has reached a level 50% higher than the prewar one, and exceeds also per capita the level of 1939, the year with the highest record before the war. Industrial production has doubled compared with the prewar, and it by far exceeds wartime levels, even including military demand.

This achievement has become especially clear in 1955, and certain aspects of economic development stand out. The huge black-ink balance of international payments, an expansion of the economy unaccompanied by a rise in commodity prices or a bloating of credit volume, a marked amelioration of corporate debt and the lowering of interest rates—this ideal triple conjuncture—judging from my own fifty-years experience in industry, can only be compared to the years of 1909, when the spirit of the people had soared in the wake of victory in the Russo-Japanese war, and of 1916, after the outbreak of the first world war had provided the ground for a great leap forward for our national economy. In 1953 world opinion spoke in skeptical tones, suggesting we were blithely skating on economic thin ice. Such opinion was surprised by last year's showing of the Japanese economy. We showed the second highest rate of increase in exports, a situation comparable to the development of the West German economy that is generally considered a miracle of world economy.

This powerful development has presented us, the Japanese people, with new tasks. How this marvelous development can be sustained and how can that portion of the populace which has so far not enjoyed the blessings of this economic prosperity be enabled to do so. There is much to be done to promote small-to-medium-sized enterprises, develop backward regions and improve social security. But in order to further these trends via fiscal policy, we must provide for a sustained development of national income which is the basis upon which public finances stand. The size of a piece of pie depends not merely on the way the pie is cut up, but on the size of the pie itself.

In the process of a recovery from war, economic development is generally rapid in every era and all countries. The fact that recovery has come to an end presents new problems. The main theme of this edition of the economic whitebook is to question the approach our country should follow in order to avoid a slowdown in economic development now that it has reached the end of its process of recovery. The world is now riding the crest of a technological revolution epitomized by nuclear power and automation. To put jt simply, the economic structure of Japan has to be reorganized in such a way that it does not fall behind the wave of technological revolution in the world. . . .

Concluding Remarks

The swiftness of the recovery of the postwar Japanese economy has defied all expectations. It was nourished by the diligence and hard work of the Japanese people and favorable global circumstances.

However, it must not be forgotten that the very depth of the valley into which we were thrown by defeat heightened the speed of our climb out of this valley. The economy has been buoyant. . . . Now the buoyancy of the era of recovery has run its course. To be sure, because Japan is poor, latent consumer demand and a latent need to invest remain high in comparison to other countries of the world. But, compared to the time just after the war, the intensity of desire has clearly declined. The "postwar" is already over. We now face a different situation. The growth spurt of recovery has ended. Growth from now on must be buttressed by modernization. And progress in modernization is possible only through swift and at the same time stable economic growth.

Introducing new things always brings resistance. It is possible that for a time contradictions in backward sectors of economy and society will be intensified by modernization. But in the long run, the manifold contradictions inherent in all sectors such as small-to-medium sized businesses, labor, agriculture, etc., can be resolved through economic development. Since then, the Japanese economy has not experienced a revolutionary transformation of comparable scope. Indeed, the attempt to avoid the pains of transforming ourself, and the effort instead to transform the outside world to fit our needs, led in the end to military expansion.

The confrontation between the two systems in the world today has moved from a nuclear arms race to peaceful coexistence. Peaceful coexistence means a battle of economic growth rates, competition over raising productivity. While we struggled chiefly during the postwar decade to expand the volume of our productive capacity, the objective of recovery in the advanced countries has been a qualitative increase in productivity. The recovery plan of France was designed as such a modernization plan.

We have to adapt ourselves as quickly as possible to the constant progress of global technology, and the resulting changes in the world environment. If we fail to do so . . . a bigger and bigger gap will open between ourselves and the advanced industrialized nations with regard to qualitative levels of technology. . . .

Reflecting on such world trends, we must not become drunk with the successes of a quantitative economic boom brought about by strokes of good fortune. Our urgent need is at this point to embark on building a new nation by riding the wave of world technology revolution.

Focus Questions

1. The author of the White Paper evoked the image of Japan at the end of World War II. What was the economic reality at that time and at the time this paper was written in 1956?
2. Why was the author so optimistic about the economy? What major milestones in economic recovery had been reached at the time this document was written?
3. What was the major challenge facing Japan's economy in 1956? What were the short-term costs and benefits? Long-term costs and benefits?
4. How did the author use history to emphasize important points about the present and future of the Japanese economy in 1956?
5. The paper identified several sectors of the economy that had not yet benefited from economic growth. What sectors were these?
6. Why would the statement that the postwar was over be so important to the attitudes and outlook of Japanese society?

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Background for Income Doubling Plan, November 1960

In this document, the government identifies five factors that made economic recovery and growth possible in postwar Japan. Read the following excerpt and, as a group, use the focus questions to prepare to teach others about this document.

It has been almost three years since the implementation of the "New Long Term Economic Plan," which was approved by the Cabinet at the end of 1957 and which is still in effect. During this period, the Japanese economy experienced a high degree of growth seldom matched elsewhere in the world. . . .

The growth rate during fiscal years (FY) 1947-52 was 11.5 percent per year, and during FY 1953-59, it was 8.3 percent per year. In each instance it went far above the projected growth rate of 6.5 percent per year under the "New Long Term Economic Plan." It shows that our economic growth has been far greater than previously anticipated. In this process of growth, the following five factors are worthy of note.

First, [it has been believed that] the high rate of economic growth postwar Japan experienced was largely sustained by the postwar recovery, and with the passage of time, the growth rate would be substantially reduced. The facts prove otherwise. Today, fifteen years after the end of the war, we continue to maintain a very high rate of growth which was 17 percent in FY 1959 and is about 10 percent for the current fiscal year.

Second, in spite of this high rate of growth, we have maintained a well-balanced savings and investment profile. The price level has been relatively stable. The rate of inflation for basic commodities between FY 1956, the base year for the New Long Term Economic Plan, and FY 1959 has been at 0.6 percent per year. The fear that the economic growth might result in deficit in foreign trade has not materialized. Instead, today we have foreign currency reserves in excess of $1.6 billion.

Third, as a result of this high rate of growth, our industrial organization has advanced significantly at an unexpected high speed. With the machine industry as the vanguard, other Industries are developing at a breathtaking pace. A high level of investment in plant and equipment is being carried out alongside the ongoing technological revolution.

In this way, our economy is gradually phasing out the postwar stage to enter a new development stage. At the same time, there is a trend toward change in our total economic outlook. [Our economic future is represented by intensified technological revolution and modernization.] The significant technology revolution that has been taking place since 1956 has brought about basic changes and improvement in the nature of our economy. It has also induced a very sharp rise in our productivity. Other technological innovations to follow may spread their economic benefits from specialized industries and enterprises to a large number of related small and medium-sized enterprises. We expect that such technological innovation will also greatly affect consumers.

Fourth, there has been a change in our dynamic population. Our population [until now] has been abundant and has been one of the reasons for our lower wage scales. However, our population pattern is changing gradually into one of a smaller number of births and deaths, a pattern common in advanced countries. . . . In the first half of the Economic Plan, the increase in the number of young men entering the labor force is expected to reach 1.5 million to 1.8 million, which is caused by the postwar baby boom. After 1965, however, the increase will be sharply reduced. In other words, during the first half, there may be some young men who are underemployed, and the pressure of population on the job market will continue to exist. In the second half, however, there is a strong indication of an overall labor shortage especially of younger workers. . . .

Focus Questions

1. How did Japan's actual economic growth rate between 1957 and 1960 compare with the projected growth rate for that period?

2. The paper identified several factors that enabled Japan to experience such rapid growth. For each factor below, explain how it contributed to the positive economic situation of 1960.

    - Factor 1: growth rate
    - Factor 2: stable savings and investment
    - Factor 3: industrial advances
    - Factor 4: population changes

3. According to this paper, how did "the people" figure into the planning for the future?

4. How would you describe the tone of this document? How do you think Japanese people might have reacted to it?

Plan for Doubling Individual Income, December 1960

Ikeda Hayato became prime minister in July 1960; within six months, he issued a long-term economic plan, the "Income Doubling Plan," that came to define Japan's economic and social agenda for the decade of the 1960s. According to one source, it "was the . . . outlook of this document that set the tone for Japan's growth-oriented economy of the 1960s. During that decade, Japan's GNP grew at an annual rate of 10.6 percent in real terms, far outpacing the 4.1 percent experienced by the United States." By 1970, Japan's manufacturing strength put the country in the ranks of advanced industrial nations. Read the following excerpt from the Income Doubling Plan of 1960 and, as a group, use the focus questions following the document text to prepare to teach others about this document.

Objectives of This Plan

The plan to double the individual income [hereafter referred to as the plan] must have as its objectives doubling of the gross national product, attainment of full employment through expansion in employment opportunities, and raising the living standard of our people. We must adjust differentials in living standard and income existing between farming and nonfarming sectors, between large enterprises and small and medium-sized enterprises, between different regions of the country, and between different income groups. We must work toward a balanced development in our national economy and life patterns.

Targets to Be Attained

The plan's goal is reach 26 trillion yen in GNP (at the fiscal year 1958 price) within the next ten years. To reach this goal, and in view of the fact that there are several factors highly favorable to economic growth existing during the first part of this plan, including the rapid development of technological changes and an abundant supply of skilled labor forces, we plan to attain an annual rate of growth of GNP at 9 percent for the coming three years. It is hoped that we shall be able to raise our GNP of 13.6 trillion yen (13 trillion yen in FY 1958 price) in FY 1960 to 17.6 trillion yen (FY 1960 price) in FY 1963 with application of appropriate policies and cooperation from the private sector.

Points to Be Considered in Implementing the Plan and Directions to Be Followed

. . . Any action we undertake must be consistent with the objectives described above. To do so, we shall pay special attention to the implementation of the following:

(a) Promotion of Modernization in Agriculture

To secure a balanced development in our national economy, we shall enact a Fundamental Law of Agriculture as a means of promoting modernization in agriculture. . . . Enhancement of coastal fishing shall be undertaken in a similar manner.

(b) Modernization of Medium and Small Enterprises

To enhance productivity in medium and small enterprises . . . we shall secure an adequate and just supply of funds for modernization of medium and small enterprises.

(c) Accelerated Development of Less Developed Regions

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To accelerate development of those less developed regions (including southern Kyushu, western Kyushu, Sanin region, and southern Shikoku) and to adjust difference in income levels, we shall establish without delay a plan for comprehensive multi-purpose development of the land. This will enable us to develop [the resources of underdeveloped regions of Japan]. Special consideration will be given to tax incentives, financing and rates of assistance permitted for public sector investment. We shall study legislation necessary to implement these measures. We shall see to it that industries appropriate to these regions will be located there. In this manner the welfare of the inhabitants in these regions may be advanced and the regions' less developed status may be [corrected].

(d) Promotion of Appropriate Locations for Industries and Reexamination of Regional Distribution of Public Sector Projects

. . . While respecting rationality in making economic decisions and at the same time preventing spread of differentials between regions, we must adjust flexibly the amount of moneys invested or loaned for public works in different regions according to the special conditions existing in these regions. In this manner we shall be able to enhance the utility of public works project consistent with economic development which at the same time contribute toward minimizing differentials between regions.

(e) Active Cooperation with the Development of World Economy

Raising productivity means strengthening our export competitiveness. Bearing in mind that an important key to the success of this plan is in the expansion of our exports and an increase in revenues in foreign currencies, we must promote a viable export strategy accompanied by other measures increasing nontrade revenues such as tourism and maritime transportation. We shall actively seek cooperation with other countries in promoting economic development in less-developed countries and raise their income levels.

Focus Questions

1. What were the three economic goals of the Income Doubling Plan?

2. According to the plan, gaps within which four sectors of the economy needed to be balanced during the course of the next 10 years? Identify a specific measure to be taken to address each of these imbalances.

3. Examine the document for specific references to how the Japanese people figured into this plan. How were they targeted within the plan? How were their lives to improve?

4. How would you describe the tone of this document? How do you think Japanese people would have reacted to it?

Publicizing Government Growth Plans to the People

It is 1960. Your group has been assigned the task of publicizing and clarifying the goals, benefits, and strategies of the national government's economic growth plan, especially the Income Doubling Plan, to the Japanese population. Your specific task is to create a poster that will use ***words and images*** to clarify important aspects—goals, measures, and social/economic benefits—of the plan. Draw upon specific information in all three of the government economic documents in Handout 5A to create your posters.

You might focus on the overall goals and plan or feature specific components. For example, you might choose to target your posters to a specific group within Japanese society that is named in the documents. You might choose to present a concrete picture of life for a typical Japanese family at the end of the Income Doubling Plan. Alternatively, you might focus on national benefits, such as Japan's place in the world once these goals have been reached.

Each poster must contain:

1. An excerpt of important text from one or more of the government documents in Handout 5A.
2. Reference in words or pictures to a specific goal or goals of the government economic development plan, as presented in one or more of the government documents in Handout 5A.
3. Reference in words or pictures to a specific strategy for reaching the goal(s) presented above.
4. A written message to the audience you intend to reach with your poster.
5. Photos or images to illustrate the message of your poster.

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Being Middle Class:
Measuring Success in the Era of High-Speed Growth

This handout provides background on the emergence of a new Japanese middle class during the 1960s and early 1970s, profiles of some middle-class Japanese families of the period, and questions to guide discussion of the reading.

Emergence of the Middle Class

By 1955, Japan's economy had recovered from much of the destruction of the long war period. Japan's Gross National Product (GNP: the money value of the total output of a nation's goods and services in a given year) had returned to prewar levels. Reading this as a sign that the economy was becoming strong again and that Japan had recovered from the war, the government proclaimed in 1956 that Japan's postwar period was over. Many Japanese interpreted this announcement as a signal that they could put the suffering of the war and immediate postwar years behind them. According to one historian, "Nothing captured the imagination of the Japanese people better than those words. It was a signal to begin the process of Japan's unfettered economic expansion. . . ."[1]

In fact, the years 1955 and 1956 did seem to signal a change in the economic and social outlook among many in Japan. In the late 1950s, many Japanese expressed growing discontent that their lives were not improving as much as the Japanese economy as a whole. Various groups voiced their discontent through labor strikes, demonstrations against the U.S.-Japan security treaty, and other forms of protest.

Following the severe protests over the U.S.-Japan security treaty, Ikeda Hayato became prime minister. Ikeda had heard the messages of the protests and resolved that the Japanese people should enjoy, on an individual level, the economic well-being that the nation was experiencing. To help accomplish this, he announced an ambitious 10-year plan, the Income Doubling Plan, in 1960. Through this plan, Ikeda voiced a new government commitment to include Japanese citizens as beneficiaries of the nation's growing prosperity. The government would focus attention not just on national growth, but also on material needs of its citizens—housing, better wages, salaried employment, and so on. Specifically, the Income Doubling plan set the goal of doubling both Japan's GNP and the income of the average Japanese family within 10 years. This plan, along with other factors, set a tone of optimism and confidence within Japan.

By the late 1950s, and particularly after the establishment of the government's Income Doubling Plan, Japanese people began to look toward improving their own material comfort and living "a good life." People moved from farms to cities in search of better jobs in a booming economy, and suburbs grew. More and more Japanese men moved into positions within the many growing companies. These companies offered economic security and success, through salaried employment, benefits, predictable and timed promotions throughout one's career, and, for some, the security of lifetime employment.

Men who held white-collar, salaried jobs in such companies became known as *sarari-men*, a Japanese translation of the English words *salary man*. In Japan at this time, and for many years afterward, these salary men symbolized a social status that implied economic success and comfort, and their lifestyle came to be seen as ideal among many in Japan.

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[1] David John Lu, *Japan: A Documentary History* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1997), p. 525.

This new social status of salary man extended beyond adult men to families, creating new definitions of the roles for wives and children within the family. The salary man's family was seen as living a certain kind of life, characterized by a comfortable, middle-class lifestyle. Because such families enjoyed the economic comfort of the husband's secure, salaried job, the salary man's wife did not have to take a job outside the house, as women had through most of the first part of the 20th century. The salary man's wife stayed home, where she took care of household maintenance, household finances, and raising the children.

This last responsibility took on new importance during the 1960s. To get a corporate position, boys had to succeed through the Japanese high school and college educational system, from which companies would recruit the next generation of salary men. Faced with this reality, young couples moved toward smaller families, with the idea that they had to be able to ensure a good education for their children. And in this setting, the wife's role in raising the children was paramount. In the 1960s, as middle-class housewives felt this responsibility and had the time and money to focus on their children, the term *kyoiku mama*, or "education mama," came into use. According to one historian, the definition of a *kyoiku mama* was "gentle nag who kept her children at the books and ensured the good fortune of the family in the next generation." Children, too, had roles to fulfill. While the father had a commitment to ensure his family a comfortable life and the mother had a commitment to raise successful children, the children in the salary man family had an equal commitment to apply themselves to school success.[2]

As Japanese families benefited from better working conditions and salaries, they came to feel more economically secure. They had money to spend on nonessential items. After the extended period of deprivation and sacrifice during the war and war recovery, this was a welcome change. The prosperity of the period translated into a consumer boom. Government and industry encouraged people to spend their money to live a more comfortable life, and Japanese people responded.

The postwar consumer boom started around 1956 and focused on electrical appliances. Heavy advertising by the electric appliance industries created a standard of what the average Japanese housewife should possess to be an efficient homemaker. Increasingly through the 1960s, advertising spread an image of middle-class life. Popular magazines and television took on powerful roles in showing Japan's consumers what they should own, what their homes should look like, and what they should aspire to.[3] American sitcoms shown on Japanese TV—portraying middle-class American families surrounded by consumer luxuries and electric appliances, with the family car parked outside—provided an irresistible image of the possessions and pastimes that constituted middle-class life.

In Japan in the 1960s, most people wanted to be middle class, which they defined by ownership of key consumer goods. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, Japanese families aspired to own the "Three S's": *sempuki, sentaku, suihanki*, or an electric fan, washing machine, and electric rice cooker. By the mid-1960s, these luxury goods had become household staples, and the material goods of the middle class shifted to the "Three C's": *kaa, kura, kara teebi*—that is, a car, air conditioner, and color TV. The three objects of desire of the early 1970s reflect the significant rise in standard of living over the years—*jueru, jetto, jutaku*—or, jewels, overseas vacation, and house.[4]

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[2] Gary Allinson, "The Structure and Transformation of Conservative Rule," in *Postwar Japan as History*, edited by Andrew Gordon (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), p. 206.
[3] Ibid., p. 247.

By 1970, according to one national poll, 50 percent of Japanese saw themselves as middle class. A few years later, 90 percent of Japanese identified themselves as middle class. This self-labeling reflects the strength of a middle class ideal in the minds of Japanese people—middle-class life was the good life; by the 1970s, most Japanese saw themselves as living this life.

Profiles of Middle-Class Families

Two American scholars, studying Japan in the late 1950s and early 1960s, profiled this middle class family ideal. The following excerpts provide insights into the husband-father, wife-mother, and children in the middle-class salary man household that was seen by many Japanese as the ideal lifestyle in the era of high-speed growth.

In *Japan's New Middle Class: The Salary Man and His Family in a Tokyo Suburb*, Ezra Vogel offered the following generalized sketch of a middle-class family in the early 1960s, based on his own research.

> The daily life of the salary man is the essence of regularity. Although commuting trains generally run to Tokyo every five or seven minutes, the salary man knows precisely what train he leaves on in the morning. Theoretically, he is expected to work overtime with little or no extra compensation whenever the firm requests it, and he is reluctant to take all the free time to which he is officially entitled. . . . If he were to request his full vacation time, he would be regarded as selfish and disloyal by his coworkers and superiors. . . . In addition to regularity, security, and free time, the companies provide various side benefits which constitute the joy of living. The salary man attends parties, athletic meets, and even trips sponsored by the company. . . . The salary man's contacts are largely restricted to his work associates and to his own immediate family. . . . He spends many evenings at home with the family, and may go on a Sunday with the family to the city, perhaps to visit a large park or a department store. For week-day recreation, he and his work associates stop off after work at their favorite bars, tea or coffee houses, or snack bars. Because he expects to be in the same organization all his life, his closest relationships are with work associates and he considers it of utmost importance to keep their friendship. . . .
>
> The wife generally knows little and cares less about her husband's daily activities at the office. She has virtually no opportunity to go out with her husband to meet other men in the company and their wives. . . . From her point of view, the major advantages of her husband's job are the regular hours and wages. She can count on him being home certain hours and she can count on his income. . . . She can take care of the children and devote herself to them as she wishes. In comparison to the wives on the farm or the shopkeepers' wives, she lives a life of freedom and luxury. . . .
>
> In planning the children's future, it is the salary man and his family who are the most dependent on the entrance examinations. Unlike the independent businessman, who can

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[4] Ibid., p. 195.

> take the children into his own work regardless of the educational institutions the children attended . . . the salary man's children are dependent upon the entrance examinations to universities and companies. Hence, [the salary man and his wife] generally place more pressure on their children and spend more time and energy to prepare them for these examinations."[5]

David Plath, in his early 1960s research, provides additional detail by profiling a particular salary man family, their home, and daily life.

> The Hikarioga Oka apartments are on the lower slope of a hillside overlooking the city. The project was opened in 1959 with 154 units in a dozen brightly painted steel-and-concrete structures of two or three floors. . . .The apartments are not spacious even by Japanese standards but they are new and cheery . . . Each dwelling unit has two mat-floored rooms, one of six mats and one of four and a half. (A mat is approximately three by six feet). It also has a nine by nine foot wood-floored kitchen, a toilet, and a small entry-way. The only phone for 154 households is a pay unit in a booth on the corner of the project playground. . . .
>
> One of the first-floor units in block G . . . is occupied by Mr. Torii Gekkyu, thirty-nine; his wife, thirty-four; and their sons, eight and ten. The visitor enters from the stairwell into the concrete-floored outer half of the entry-way, shucks his footgear, and steps up to the raised wooden floor of the inner half. There are no decorations in the entryway, but it is cleaner and more orderly than such places usually are. An unpainted rack to the left holds assorted footgear, umbrellas, a softball and bat, and four badminton racquets. Baseball caps and school jackets hang above it. To the right a door opens into the toilet, another door into a broom closet.
>
> Further in are the mat-floored rooms, their walls so heavily lined with furniture and equipment that one has a feeling of Pullman-style planned stowage. . . . [T]here is a serviceable low table in the center of the four-mat room, directly under the light fixture. In the six-mat room there are two tall clothes cabinets, their tops piled to the ceiling with layers of boxes. There is a chest of drawers, on it an electric fan and a souvenir model of Tokyo Tower. In one corner stands a treadle sewing machine. (One wall is taken up by closets for storing the bedding during the day.)
>
> Torii is the eldest son of an Anchiku farm household, and by Japanese ideals he should have succeeded his father on the farm. However, Torii had graduated from a university in Tokyo, and he had other ambitions. . . . He was disappointed that he could do no better than the regional bureaucracy. He felt that with his Tokyo degree, even though it is not from one of the "ivy league" schools, he was qualified for one of the national bureaus. "The regional official is the worst off," he says. "They promise 8,000 yen starting salary for college graduates, but it doesn't work out to near that." . . .
>
> Government offices are closed on Saturday afternoons and Sundays. Public schools follow the same schedule, so the Torii family can all be at home together at least a day and a half a week. Evenings are less dependable, since Mr. Torii has late assignments two

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[5] Ezra Vogel, *Japan's New Middle Class: The Salary Man and His Family in a Tokyo Suburb* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963), pp. 34-38.

> or three times a week. Occasionally, too, his office gang goes out for a drink after work, although their major sessions are on Saturday nights. . . .
>
> Sundays and holidays the whole family sleeps late—ten o'clock or so—and Mrs. Torii foregoes routine morning dusting. The day passes without plan, reading, chatting with neighbors, puttering in the garden plot between the apartment blocks. Sometimes the family walks to one of the nearby parks, sometimes they go downtown shopping. "But we aren't like some of the families here who think they are deprived if they don't get out every Sunday." . . .
>
> [Mrs. Torii] is an Anchiku girl, daughter of a well-to-do farmer. Her life, like that of most salaryman wives, is taken up with household tasks and with supervising her children's schooling. She manages the family budget . . . and takes over the pay envelope after Mr. Torii has deducted a sum for his monthly expenses. She hands down allowances to the sons . . . pays the regular monthly bills (newspaper, gas, electricity), makes savings and insurance deposits, and allocates the remainder to her various household accounts. . . .
>
> About half of the Hikarioga Oka families have electric refrigerators. The Toriis do not, so Mrs. Torii shops almost every day for fresh fruit and vegetables, and two or three times a week for fish. But, during the midday hours, when the morning chores are done, there is time for visiting with other wives. "These apartments get pretty boring at times."
>
> Once a month she joins five other wives in a cloth-doll-making group. They too meet at each other's apartments by turn (the format is a common one for many kinds of Japanese small groups). Each wife contributes 100 yen per turn, and the accumulated fund is used once a year for an all-day outing for the six families. . . .
>
> Evenings, she supervises the boys' homework, or sews, or sometimes reads—the Matsumoto evening paper, the Asahi weekly, or *Kurashi no Techo*, a slick-paper house-and-garden magazine that she buys at reduced prices a month late. She thinks of joining the Mothers' Library, sponsored by the Peoples' Hall, but fears she could not read rapidly enough to complete books within the two-week lending period.
>
> "We used to talk of having three children," she remarks, setting out a dish of peaches for the visitor. "But we probably will stop at two. We want both boys to go on to college. We're saving all we can for it, but, even so, how can we possibly manage to send two of them at once? The other day the younger one told me not to worry. He said he's going to get a scholarship for study in America."[*]

Sazae-san was a cartoon character created by Hasegawa Machiko in 1946 and serialized in the *Asahi Shimbun* newspaper from 1949 until 1974. It has been compared to the Blondie cartoon in the United States for its humorous portrayal of everyday life. Many of the cartoons in the 1960s and 1970s focused on middle class dreams and problems. In one cartoon, a man and woman are driving past a bus stop. Both of them are sweating heavily, as is a woman standing at the bus stop in a traditional kimono. The woman in the car says to her husband, "That woman living behind us is so vain! Even in the heat she still has to show off her kimono." As they pass the bus stop, the kimono-clad woman says to her companion, "Did you see that? They never open their car windows so as to pretend it's air-conditioned!"

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[*] David Plath, *The After Hours: Modern Japan and the Search for Enjoyment* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964), pp. 40-46.

Focus Questions

1. Based on the two studies of salary man families in the early 1960s, describe a "typical day" for a husband, wife, and child in such a family.
2. What were the signs of success in such families?
3. Describe what you think the goals of the husband, wife, and kids in the Torii family were.

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Middle-Class Family Life Document Set

The sources in this document set provide insights into the lives and dreams of middle-class Japanese families in the 1960s. Some of the data reflect the way life actually was for an average family; other sources reflect an ideal of "the good life" for average families.

Your group will examine data to learn about one of the following "average" Japanese in the decade of the 1960s: (1) the salary man-family man, (2) an average urban or suburban housewife married to a salary man and raising two children, (3) a child growing up in a middle-class home. Your teacher will assign one of these people to your group. In the group, review all the data in the packet, selecting the materials that you think provide particular insight or specific information on your role—husband/father, wife/mother, or child.

Using the data you have selected, as well as information from your earlier reading and the Sazae-san comics, complete one of the following projects to demonstrate your understanding of what it meant to be middle class in Japan in the period of high-speed growth.

- Create an episode for a popular sitcom about a suburban Tokyo family in 1966. Your episode should focus on the role assigned to your group—the dad, the mom, or one of the children in this middle-class family. Your episode should focus on a "dilemma" for your character that is resolved in the course of the show and should reflect what you know about the interests, concerns, and daily lives of the middle class in Japan at that time.

- Create a popular magazine targeted to your group. Your magazine should include one article on clothing, one article on recreation or hobbies, and an advice column designed to solve the kinds of problems faced by your group.

- Create an advertisement for a new product manufactured specifically to appeal to the interests of your group.

Document 1: Ways for a Wife to Make Free Time—Once Again Consider Living Habits
Chugoku Shimbun, Hiroshima, January 23, 1961

In this 1961 article from a Hiroshima daily newspaper, the author offers housewives advice about scheduling their time to get the most out of their days. The article responds to the new wife of the 1960s, who no longer had to go out of the household to work to help support the family, as had often been the case in the recovery years of 1945-1955.

Even though it's called housework time, there are wives who use that time in a jumbled way. It isn't very easy to mark things off, but really, according to the user's way of thinking about them you have days when the 24 hours slip by dreamily, and days when it's possible to live up to a plan. What are the divisions in everyday living time? How many minutes are used for what? Let's look at an example.

If housework isn't jumbled; if you put your mind to it, that's how you can build your family culture. With home electrification and clever contriving you'll find breathing space in your hours and your attitudes; with it you can move toward a daily life of enjoying flower arranging, room decorating, recreation, reading, dressing up, and visiting. . . .

The first step in skillfully using time is to chronologically record the activities of the day's 24 hours. It is good to decide and write your plan in the evening for the next day. That way you'll be able to see where you were mistaken and where you were wasteful.

Today she lolled away the whole day, yesterday was the same, just existing; isn't that pointless? Just leave that kind of wife behind you!

Say what you will, "so busy I've no time to spare" is a demonstration of lack of wisdom. And as for the various obstacles that exist, it takes a wife's courage and resolution to remove them.

Source: David W. Plath, *The After Hours: Modern Japan and the Search for Enjoyment* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964), p. 106. Copyright © 1964 David W. Plath. Translated and reprinted from *Chugoku Shimbun* (January 23, 1961). Used by permission of the author.

Document 2: Fixed Holidays for Salaried Workers
Asahi Evening News, January 13, 1961

In a 1961 editorial, this popular Japanese newspaper took a stand on moving from a one-day weekend to a national policy of a two-day weekends for salaried workers.

The salaryman probably wants to lie down on the one day he gets off each week. This does not necessarily suit his wife and children, who spend most of their time at home. If the whole family goes out for recreation, the salaryman's weariness is increased by the crowds in the trains. This explains the "Monday morning feeling" that salary earners suffer from.

People in the United States and Britain have two days off a week. One day is spent resting and the other is devoted to social activities. If a person has only one day off a week, he will become exhausted if he is too energetic that day.

Source: David W. Plath, *The After Hours: Modern Japan and the Search for Enjoyment* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964), p. 113. Copyright © 1964 David W. Plath. Translated and reprinted from *Asahi Evening News* (January 13, 1961). Used by permission of the author.

Document 3: Minutes from the Dahlia Group Women's Club, 1960

In the early 1960s, American sociologist David Plath studied life among middle class families in one Japanese city. Professor Plath spent some time examining the pastimes of middle class family women, the new breed of middle class housewife who stayed home and kept house rather than going outside the home to work, as her counterparts in the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s had tended to do out of economic necessity.

Below are three excerpts from the minutes of a Japanese housewives' group, the Daria Gurupu (Dahlia Group), from the early 1960s. This group was an association of young wives in an urban neighborhood in the early 1960s. They met once a month, with each woman taking a turn hosting the meeting at her home. The hostess recorded activities in the group's official minutes and also recorded her impressions and thoughts about the meeting. Because the minutes include these personal reflections, they provide a record of the young wives' "hopes, joys, and struggles." The entries below were translated by David Plath.

Dahlia Group Minutes, Entry 1

Events: Agenda for holding third annual meeting of young wives and mothers-in-law. Decided on a dinner party, etc. Date: November 19th. Place: home of Mochizuki Fusae. Menu: chicken and egg on rice, soup, broiled fish, bean-curds, eggwhirls. Prepare at Mrs. Tanaka Fumie's home, or if inconvenient there at Mrs. Arai Junko's home. Because of autumn harvest, October meeting cancelled, and attendance tonight poor. But confirmed plans for the party with the older wives' club as entered on this year's plan of operations. What with much conversation we went on past eleven o'clock, when we adjourned.

Dahlia Group Minutes, Entry 2

(1) Meeting had been suggested for 1:00 p.m. on January 26th during winter but was rescheduled for that evening at the host family's request. Evening brought a terrific rain and wind, and unfortunately the younger young wives who have babies and such to take care of didn't show up.

(2) In reviewing the Dahlia Group's year's activities we noted that we had thought up a name for our club. We talked about many other things but mostly there was too much gossip. With regard to our plans for the coming year I think we should set out two or three topics and try to develop them:

a. reading club—circulate and read love novels and light books;
b. practice sessions in cooking suitable for farm families;
c. keep farm home budgets.

(3) We meet once a month and everyone enjoys it since we are always around the house and especially as young wives don't have opportunities to get out. When everyone is diligent [illegible]ut talking, you get to feeling good. You think that you are the only one with hurt feelings, but

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Source: David W. Plath, *The After Hours: Modern Japan and the Search for Enjoyment* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964), p. 113. Copyright © 1964 David W. Plath. Used by permission of the author.

when everyone talks you realize it's the same for all. Dahlia Club is a place of relaxation, a place of consolation, a place for reflections, isn't it?

Dahlia Group, Minutes on Annual Dinner Party

On the afternoon of November 16th the Dahlia Group all assembled and made the necessary preparations for the arrival of the older wives' club. We had been planning this since summer, and although it was difficult to realize, it finally had arrived as hoped-for. Thanks to everyone's skill we enjoyed a grand feast. We face our elders every day, and yet what were our thoughts on this day? Wasn't it great? I am delighted that everyone worked with all her might. For a half day, omitting nothing, we expressed our thanks to the older wives for their continual efforts in our behalf. I think next year we must plan to do something of the same sort again. From now on everyone in the Dahlia Club will be dreaming of how in ten years when she's gotten older she too will be treated in this way. Ten years—it's almost here!

Document 4: Comments on The Japanese Lifestyle
by Ono Tsutomu

This excerpt from an essay on Japanese life in the early 1960s is translated by David Plath.

TV is spreading, and sumo and baseball are becoming conversation topics for nearly everyone. . . . Weekly magazines are inundating us; the number of Torys Bars expands; in the coffeehouses, neatly dressed people listen to mood music; in the newspapers, electric appliances and department stores and movies are advertised brazenly; crowds are packed in at auto shows; girls parade at fashion shows; the ski slopes and swimming beaches are filled to capacity; the onsen centers are in a construction rush . . . and so on. If one tries to offer examples, there is no stopping point.

Document 5: Advertising Leaflet on the Opening of Ariake Town's First Service Station, 1960

Greetings on Our Opening

Good wishes during the height of the hot season.

That barometer of the new age, the use of petroleum products, daily follows an upward path; truly it feels good to witness progress in production and consumption.

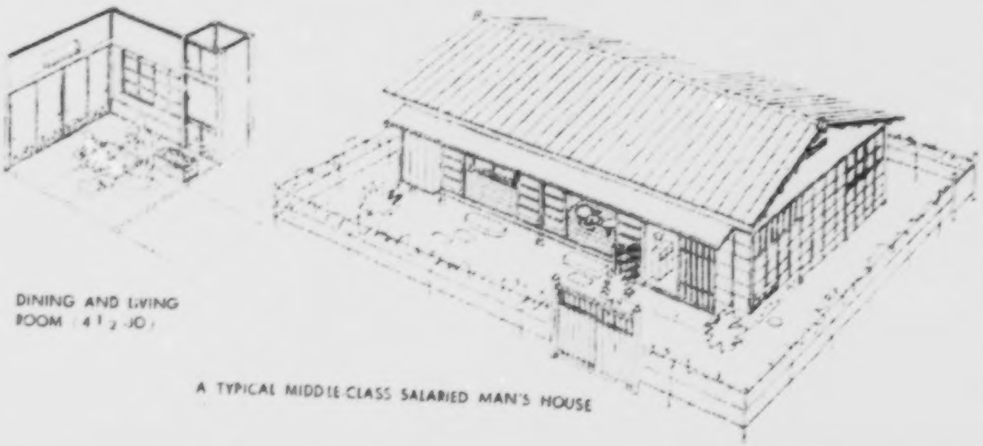
Now in response to your demands the only service station in the village with complete facilities has been started here.

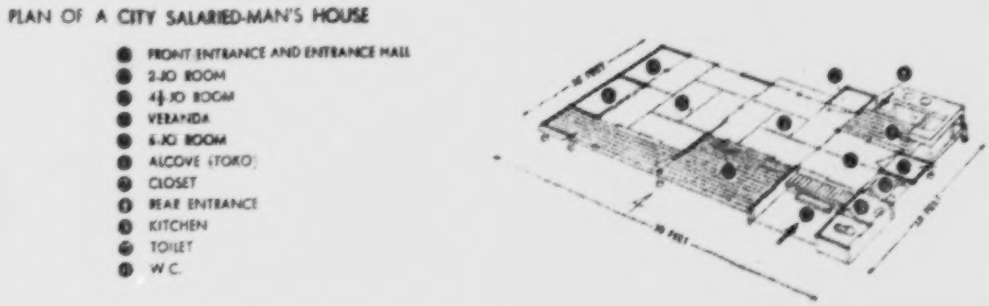
From automobiles, autobikes, and motorbikes to agricultural engines, all fuels and lubricants, oil for your household oil stove, we handle all petroleum products. Our creed is service first! We await your patronage.

Source: David W. Plath, *The After Hours: Modern Japan and the Search for Enjoyment* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964), pp. 109, 174-175. Copyright © 1964 David W. Plath. Used by permission of the author.

Document 6: Model and Floor Plan of A Typical Middle-Class Salaried Man's House

This drawing is taken from an article on daily life in Japan published in the English-language magazine, This Is Japan, 1956. *The magazine was published in Japan in the first decades of the postwar period by a Japanese publisher; it was intended for Western readers, particularly businessmen coming to work or conduct trade in Japan. While most salary man families lived in apartment complexes, this drawing outlines an ideal single-family home of the times.*


DINING AND LIVING ROOM (4 1/2-JO)
A TYPICAL MIDDLE-CLASS SALARIED MAN'S HOUSE


PLAN OF A CITY SALARIED-MAN'S HOUSE
● FRONT ENTRANCE AND ENTRANCE HALL
● 2-JO ROOM
● 4½-JO ROOM
● VERANDA
● 6-JO ROOM
● ALCOVE (TOKO)
● CLOSET
● REAR ENTRANCE
● KITCHEN
● TOILET
● W.C.
30 FEET

Source: *This Is Japan, 1956* (Tokyo: Asahi Shimbun Publishing Company, October 1955).

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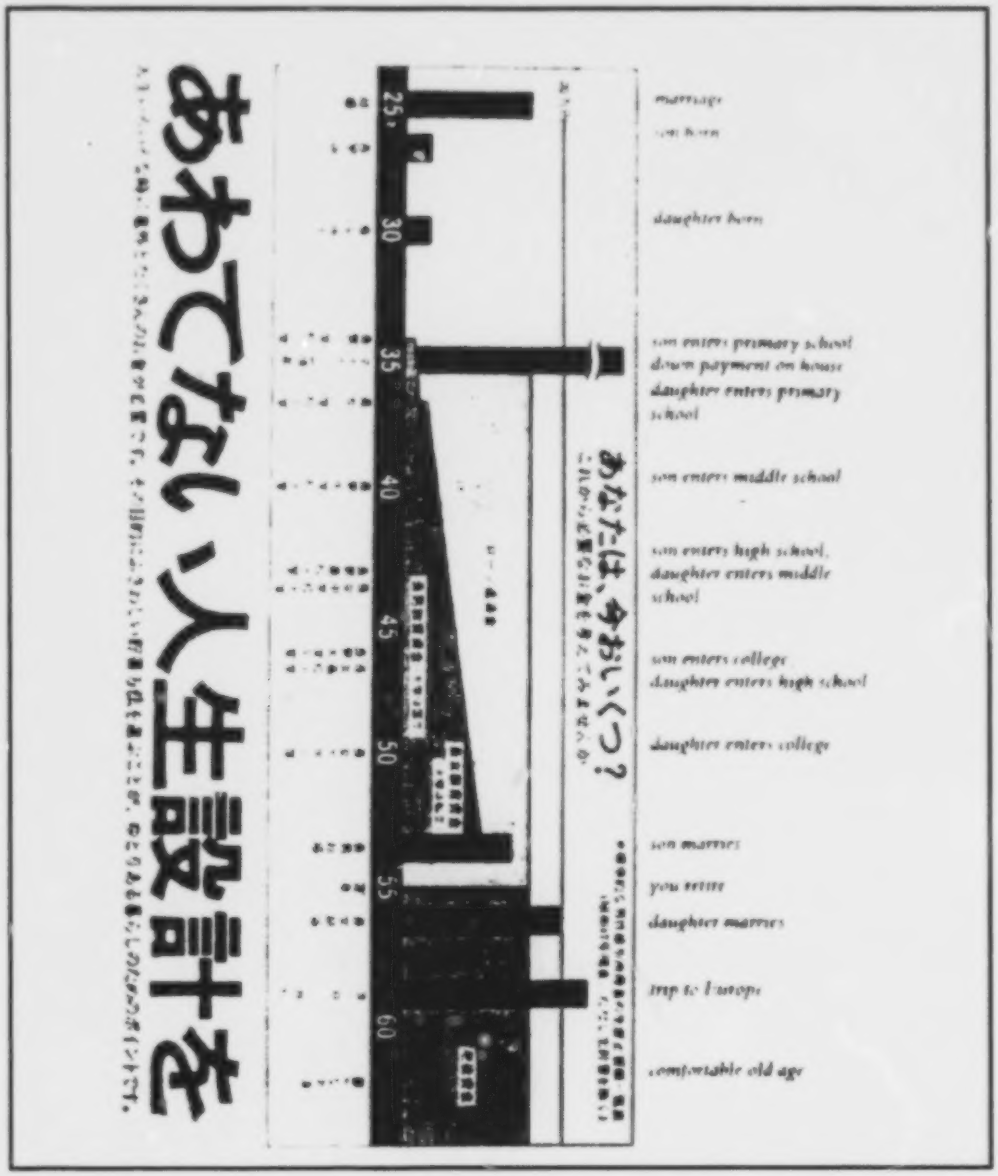
Document 7: An Unhurried Life Plan

In 1972, a savings and loan association advertised this plan for an "unhurried life."



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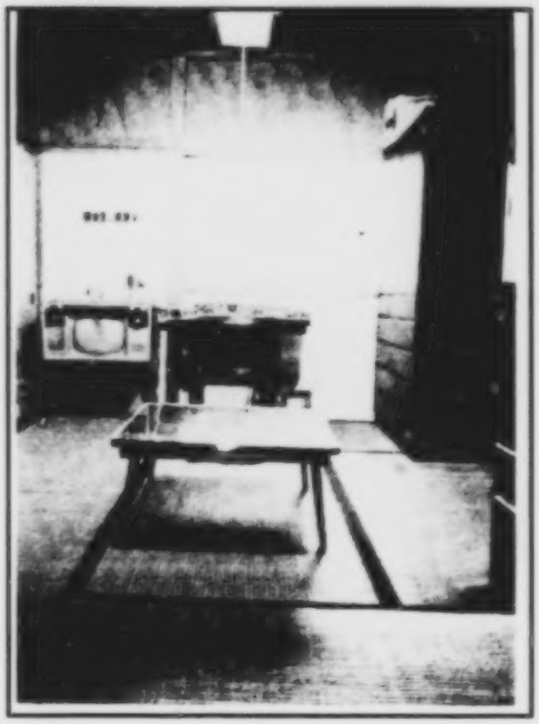
Source: David Plath, *Long Engagements: Maturity in Modern Japan*. Copyright © 1980 by the Board of Trustees of the Leland Stanford Jr. University.

Document 8: Photographs of Japanese Middle Class Homes

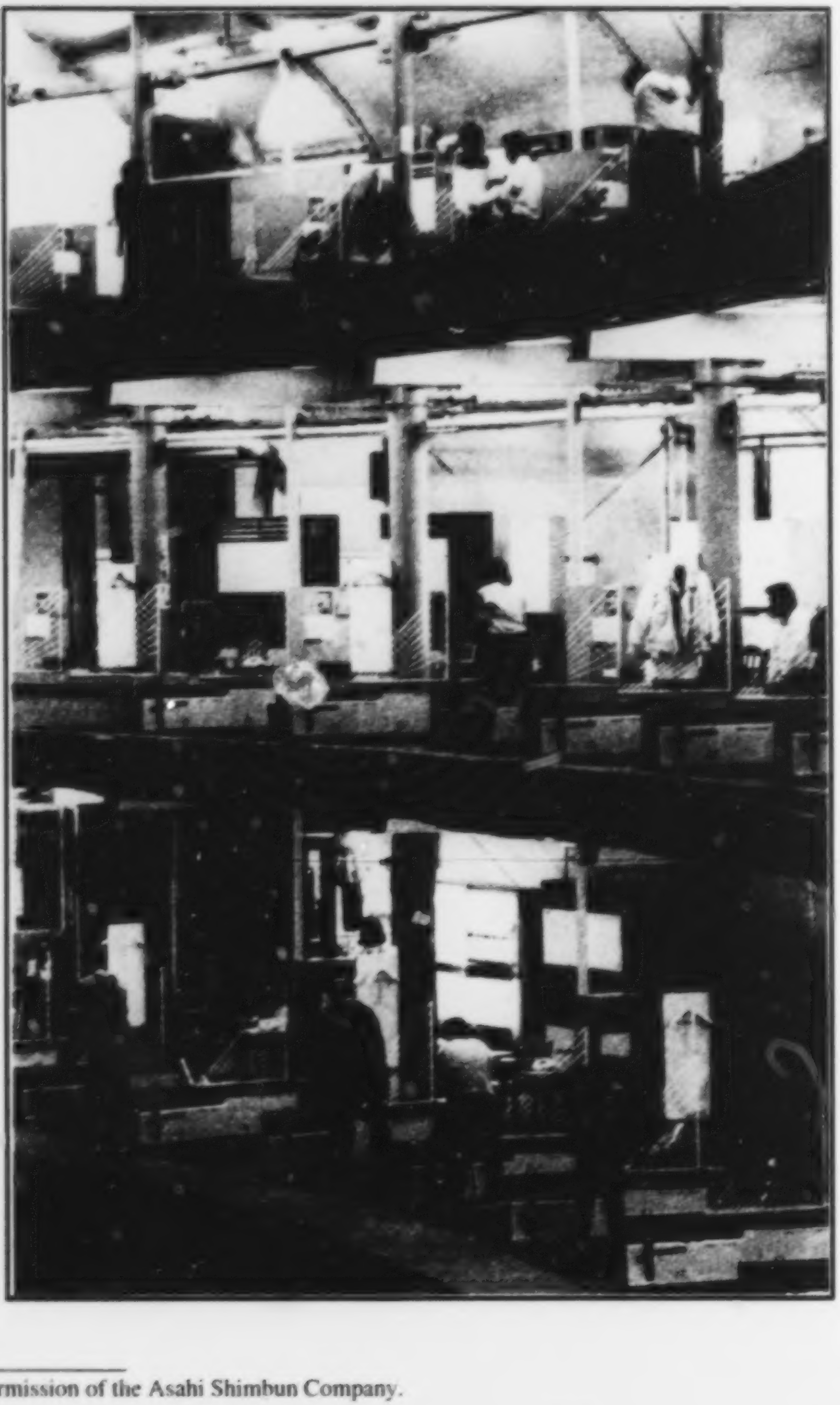


In the 1960s, traditional furnishings mix with modern appliances, as the low table called the *kotatsu* shares space with the television and sewing machine.

By the 1970s, Western-style consumer goods predominate.

Source: Reprinted with the permission of Simon & Schuster, Inc., from *From Bonsai to Levi's: When West Meets East, an Insider's Surprising Account of How the Japanese Live*, by George Fields. Copyright © 1983 by George Fields.

Document 9: Photographs of Leisure Activities



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Source: *This is Japan, 1967* (Tokyo: Asahi Shimbun Publishing Company, September 1966).

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Minamata: A Case Study in the Costs of Rapid Economic Growth

Introduction: In the nearly two decades between 1955 and 1973, Japan experienced a period of rapid economic growth. During those years, the economy grew at an average annual rate of 10 percent, an astonishing achievement for any nation. This rapid growth was made possible by a number of factors, chief among them a strong consensus, shared by government leaders and citizens alike, that growth was the nation's highest priority.

Japan's economic success came at a price, however. Even as cities and towns encouraged auto plants and other industries to locate in their communities and provide jobs for their citizens, these industries often belched toxic chemicals into the air and waterways, polluting the local environment and causing physical harm to inhabitants. In this lesson, students consider how Japanese people came to recognize the costs of rapid economic growth. They examine the case of Minamata Bay, an industrial pollution case that focused national and international attention on environmental hazards of industrial development. Through a jigsaw strategy, students role play negotiations among key stakeholders in the Minamata environmental pollution case.

Objectives: At the conclusion of this lesson, students will be able to:

1. Explain the causes of Japan's dramatic economic growth between 1955 and 1973.
2. Identify environmental and social costs of Japan's high economic growth.
3. Explain the cause of Minamata disease.
4. Negotiate a solution to the Minamata case.
5. Understand literature's role in Japan's environmental movement.

Materials: Handouts 6A through 6E

Time Required: 2 class periods

Procedure:

Part I: Minamata Disease

1. Inform students that, after the Occupation, the Japanese government and citizens focused their efforts on rebuilding Japan's economy. Between 1955 and 1973, Japan was extraordinarily successful in this effort, but the success sometimes came at a high cost to individuals. In a large group discussion, ask students to consider how a nation's economic success could be harmful to individual citizens.

2. Distribute copies of Handout 6A. Direct students to read the handout; when they have completed the reading, check for understanding. Inform students that the remainder of the lesson will focus on the case of Minamata, a Japanese town that, in the process of industrial growth, became victim to an environmental crisis with societal and individual repercussions. Tell students that they will be assigned roles to play in an effort to resolve the conflicts that developed in Minamata.

3. Distribute copies of Handout 6B. Read aloud with students the first section, "Beautiful, Bright Minamata." Ask students what images of Minamata and the Chisso Company the two songs create in their minds.

4. Direct students to read carefully the remainder of the handout. When they have completed the reading, check for student understanding through a discussion. Possible discussion questions include:

- Describe Chisso Corporation's importance to the city of Minamata.
- What were the symptoms of the "strange disease"? What caused the disease?
- What role did the Japanese government play in this case? Explain why the government acted as it did.

5. After the discussion, organize students into three groups as follows: Group A—Citizens of Minamata who have Minamata disease; Group B—Chisso executives; and Group C—Minamata city council members. Tell students that they will meet in these groups initially, then form new groups, each of which will be composed of one member each from Group A, Group B, and Group C. Use Handout 6C to convey instructions to the groups.

6. Once the groups have completed their tasks, direct the students to form new groups composed of three people, with one member each from Group A, Group B, and Group C. Direct students to present their group's proposal for resolving the Minamata conflict, starting with members from Group A and continuing through Group C members. Once all three students in each group have been heard, ask students to begin discussing possible resolutions to the situation.

7. After groups have been discussing the issue for about ten minutes, tell them that additional information has become available. Read the following "news bulletin" aloud to students:

> In 1964 another "strange disease" was discovered in Niigata prefecture, on the island of Honshu. All the victims in Niigata lived near a river and relied on its fish for their diet; their symptoms were identical to those of the Minamata victims. An acetaldehyde factory, owned by Showa Denko Corporation, was located upstream of the victims' community. (Chisso also produced acetaldehyde.) Although the government used the same tactics that had worked to protect Chisso Corporation from researchers and victims' demands, events in Niigata quickly got away from government control. Niigata University researchers published a report in 1967, linking the disease to mercury in Showa Denko waste, which was ingested by victims through eating contaminated fish. When Showa Denko refused to accept responsibility for causing the disease, the victims took what was then in Japan an extraordinary step: they filed a lawsuit against the corporation.

8. Direct each group to consider this new information as they work to negotiate a resolution to the Minamata tragedy, maintaining their assigned roles. Allow students time to work together, reminding them that many Japanese place a high value on social harmony. After ten minutes, check with each group to see if they have been able to negotiate a settlement. If not, allow students to continue working together for five more minutes. Then ask each group to report their progress: Were they able to resolve the issues in Minamata? Why or why not? Did the information about the disease outbreak in Niigata play a crucial role in their group's success or failure to reach a settlement?

9. Inform students that they will now have a chance to read how the Minamata case was resolved. Distribute copies of Handout 6D. After students have completed the reading, ask: What similarities and differences emerge between the outcome in Minamata and the ones arrived at by students? Are students surprised by the lawsuit and its results? Are they surprised by the Chisso executives' apologies to the victims? Why or why not?

Part II: Literature and the Environmental Movement

1. Tell students that the case of Minamata and other industrial pollution incidents in Japan gave rise in the late 1960s and early 1970s to many grassroots environmental organizations that worked to safeguard public health. The efforts of these groups and the greater public awareness created by writers, artists, and journalists brought about improved environmental laws and regulations in Japan. In 1967, the Basic Law for Environmental Pollution Control was passed to regulate air, water, and soil pollution. In 1971, the Environment Agency was founded; the following year, the National Institute for Environmental Studies was established.

2. Explain that among the writers who brought public attention to environmental threats to human health, Ishimure Michiko is one of the most noted. She published numerous essays and several books in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Like Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* in the United States, her books brought increased public attention to environmental issues.

3. Distribute Handout 6E, which contains excerpts from the first and last chapters of Ishimure's *Paradise in the Sea of Sorrow: Our Minamata Disease*. The following are suggested discussion questions:

- As an artist and activist, Ishimure Michiko aroused public sympathy for Minamata disease victims through her writing. In her portrait of Yamanaka Kuhei, a 16-year-old boy with the disease, how does the author engage your emotions?
- Describe the setting for this portrait of Yamanaka Kuhei. What effect do the scene's silence and stillness have on the author's portrayal of the boy?
- In "High Tide," is the apology offered by Chisso executives convincing? Adequate?
- How is Taeko's monologue an indictment of Japan's period of rapid economic growth?
- Having read these two selections from Ishimure's book, can you explain its profound impact on Japanese citizens?

4. Close the lesson by asking students to reflect on the relationship between art/literature and social or political issues. How do the arts both shape and reflect culture? What examples from postwar Japan support students' views?

Recommended Films: *Minamata: The Victims and Their World* (Tsuchimoto Noriaki, 1972) is a documentary on the Minamata case, focusing particularly on the human consequences of mercury poisoning. Another documentary that provides some information regarding this case is *Postwar Japan: 40 Years of Change* (Films for the Humanities and Sciences, 1989). The film, which would be a useful supplement to almost every lesson in this unit, deals with the changes in postwar Japanese society, government, economy, and culture.

In the PBS series *The People's Century*, the program entitled *Endangered Planet* deals with several environmental issues, including Minamata. It also examines the relationship between the environmental movement and the practice of democracy in the 20th century. Teaching suggestions for use with the segment are available on PBS's web site.

Japan's Years of Rapid Economic Growth, 1955-1973

In the years following the Occupation, both the Japanese government and Japanese society agreed on one overarching goal: to achieve rapid economic growth. Individual farmers, fishermen, laborers, and industrial managers alike were motivated to work toward dual goals: an improvement in the standard of living and national economic growth. This economic growth brought with it gains in national status and acceptance among the world's economic powers. Between 1955 and 1973, Japan succeeded beyond anyone's wildest dreams, becoming one of the world's leading manufacturing and exporting nations. How did Japan achieve so much in this two-decade period? Three major factors contributed to Japan's success:

- **Political stability.** Throughout these years, Japanese citizens voted in large numbers for the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), returning it again and again to a majority in the Diet (Japan's national legislature). With ongoing support from the electorate, the LDP leadership endorsed growth as the nation's highest priority and promoted policies that would help the nation achieve it. One example is the 1960 Income-Doubling Plan, a policy aimed at doubling both the nation's Gross National Product and the incomes of individual citizens. The LDP also ensured that certain government ministries would play an active role in promoting its economic policies. The Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI) and the Ministry of Finance (MOF) emerged as powerful bureaucracies that could take action to ensure the success of individual industries.

- **Favorable international trade climate.** Japan has few natural resources. In order to develop an industrial economy, Japan needed steady access to inexpensive raw materials from other parts of the world. Fortunately for Japan, in the two decades after 1953, the world's leading economic powers favored open markets; that is, their trade policies did not restrict the international import or export of goods. Japan could import a steady supply of raw materials, such as petroleum and iron, needed in many of its industries. At the same time, the world's markets were open to Japan's manufactured goods. Much of the world thrived during this era of open markets: from 1953 to 1973, the total volume of manufactured goods exported around the globe increased six times.

- **Minimal spending on national defense.** With its defeat in World War II and acceptance of a new constitution, Japan renounced the right to ever again make war on another nation. At the onset of the Cold War, Japan became a U.S. ally against communism in Asia and received military protection under the U.S. "nuclear umbrella." While there were costs involved with this alliance (for example, Japan provided supplies for U.S. forces in Vietnam), Japan could devote a large percent of its resources to the pursuit of economic growth.

Because of strong citizen support for the government's economic policies, the favorable international trade climate, and low defense spending, Japan achieved astonishing economic growth in the period 1955-1973. During this period, Japan experienced an average annual growth rate of ten percent (for comparison, the U.S. economic growth rate in 1999 was around four percent, also considered very high). By the end of this era, Japan's economy was second only to the United States in productive output, and Japan was the world's third largest exporting nation, behind the United States and West Germany.

Costs of Rapid Economic Growth

Government and, initially, citizens themselves sought industrial development without recognition of the potential costs of such a policy. By the late 1950s, it was already clear that locating an auto factory or steel plant in a community was a double-edged sword. The plant provided jobs, a stable tax base, and economic vitality, but it also disposed of its industrial waste in local water sources, polluting area drinking water and fishing grounds.

In the late 1950s and early 1960s, some citizens affected by the pollutants in their communities began to speak out. One major case of airborne pollution occurred in the city of Yokkaichi in Mie prefecture. In 1955, a large group of heavy industries located in Yokkaichi, on the site of an old naval fuel base. At first, local residents were delighted by the arrival of the industries, but they became increasingly skeptical as the air quality over Yokkaichi deteriorated. Many residents developed coughs, then asthma became widespread among the city's residents. By 1960, the phenomenon of "Yokkaichi asthma" was well known in the region. The asthma was so severe that some residents died from it; two residents committed suicide because they were no longer able to work or provide for their families as a result of their illness.

Yokkaichi residents sought help from their city government to force pollution controls and prevention measures at the industrial plants. When the city government failed to take immediate and necessary action, nine asthma victims took the extraordinary step of filing a lawsuit against the polluters. This lawsuit and three others filed in the late 1960s became known as the Big Four anti-pollution suits. The Big Four would have a lasting impact, forcing the Japanese government to modify its policy of promoting growth without regard to social costs.

While the Yokkaichi case reveals the dark side of rapid industrialization in Japan, the case that garnered national and international attention began in a seaside town called Minamata.

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Minamata Disease

Beautiful, Bright Minamata

Minamata is a small city on the west coast of the island of Kyushu. From earliest times, residents of Minamata relied on the ample fish of Minamata Bay for their diets and livelihood. In the 1930s, young students of First Minamata Elementary School sang this school anthem:

> The deep-blue sky above Mount Yahazu
> Gentle waves lapping at the beach in Tsukinoura
> Beautiful, bright Minamata
> Let us march undaunted toward the future
> Noted for its beauty as early as the Engi period
> Minamata is proud of its reputation
> Now, in the reign of Showa[1]

In 1908, the Japan Fertilizer Company (later renamed Chisso Corporation) opened a factory in Minamata. Factory workers sang this company song:

> Mount Yahazu bathed in sunlight
> The Sea of Shiranui has turned into a mirror
> The roof of the factory shines white
> Curly smoke mingling with white clouds
> Lingering above the town
> Chisso's Minamata factory:
> A name synonymous with hard work
> And prestige[2]

Over time, the fates of Minamata Bay, of the villagers who relied on the sea, and of Chisso Corporation would become permanently intertwined.

Deterioration of Minamata Bay

Chisso's production facilities grew to dominate the city of Minamata. In the postwar years, Japan's government policies supported expansion of the chemical industry, causing a sharp rise in production at the Minamata plant. By the 1950s, Chisso was manufacturing 10 major synthetic chemicals, including polyvinyl chloride and acetaldehyde, used in producing plastics. Chisso's rapid growth mirrored the nation's dramatic economic growth during the period. The Chisso plant became Minamata's largest employer; its tax revenues provided an estimated 40 percent of Minamata City tax receipts, and 70 percent of the city's economy was directly or indirectly dependent on Chisso.

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[1] Ishimure Michiko, *Paradise in the Sea of Sorrow: Our Minamata Disease*, translated by Livia Monnet (Japan: Yamaguchi Publishing House, 1990), p. 108. © Ishimure Michiko. Used by permission.
[2] Ibid., p. 108. © Ishimure Michiko. Used by permission.

As Chisso grew and prospered, the water quality in shallow Minamata Bay began to deteriorate. Fishermen noticed a sharp decline in fish, as the flow of wastes from Chisso's factories increased. In 1943 Chisso had made a small monetary payment to fishermen who had demanded compensation for their loss of earnings. In 1949, the local fishermen's union again sought compensation; they also sought an end to the company's pollution of the bay. In 1951, Chisso finally provided a loan to the fishermen, made on the condition that the union would make no objections to factory activities, including future pollution of the bay. The desperate fishermen accepted the offer.

The total number of fish caught in Minamata Bay between 1953 and 1954 had decreased by 40 percent; by 1956 the haul was less than 25 percent that of 1952. While Minamata thrived because of Chisso's presence as the city's major employer, the fishermen were barely able to survive.

"Strange Disease"

By 1953, ominous signs appeared in Minamata:

> Birds seemed to be losing their sense of coordination, often falling from their perches or flying into buildings and trees. Cats, too, were acting oddly. They walked with a strange rolling gait, frequently stumbling over their own legs. Many suddenly went mad, running in circles and foaming at the mouth until they fell—or were thrown—into the sea and drowned. Local fishermen called the derangement "the disease of the dancing cats," and watched nervously as the animals' madness progressed.[3]

The dancing disease was soon noticed in fishermen and their families. Strong, healthy men and women "suddenly found their hands trembling so violently they could no longer strike a match."[4] Soon, they could not think clearly; numbness of the lips and limbs was followed by diminished vision, movement, and speech. The victims walked with an awkward, unsteady gait. Ultimately, they became bedridden and fell into unconsciousness. Around 40 percent of those stricken with the disease died. The disease did not afflict adults alone: it was found to spread from pregnant mothers to their unborn babies; many infants were born with severe physical and mental deformities.

In 1956, Dr. Hosokawa Hajime discovered the "strange disease" when a delirious six-year-old girl came under his care. The girl suffered from profound brain damage; Hosokawa formally notified the Minamata Health Center of the outbreak of a new disease characterized by severe damage to the central nervous system. Fifty-two victims of the strange disease were identified by the end of 1956. Many suspected that wastes from Chisso's factory might be linked to their illness.

Taking Action

Victims of the disease had much to battle: not only did they need to seek the cause of their illness and gain medical treatment and financial support, they also had to counter the strongly held belief that Japanese individuals should be willing to sacrifice their private interests for the good of the country. To most Japanese, and to many of the victims in Minamata, "the appropriate behavior for persons harmed by industrialization was to suffer in silence. To stand up for one's rights . . . was to be selfish and disloyal."[5] Putting one's own interests above those of Japan, or of Japan's economy, was unthinkable. The victims, all from poor fishing villages along Minamata Bay, were shunned by other residents of the area, who feared the disease might spread and who blamed the victims for unhygienic practices they assumed were the cause of the disease. As a result, many victims hid their condition, or that of their children, leading to an underreporting of the disease.

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[3] Norie Huddle and Michael Reich, *Island of Dreams: Environmental Crisis in Japan* (New York: Autumn Press, 1975), pp. 106-107.

[4] Ibid., p. 107.

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Victims' reluctance to stand out and their submissiveness to societal pressure had limits, however. In 1959 the disease victims formed the Mutual Assistance Society to negotiate with Chisso. By late 1959, a settlement was offered: Chisso would provide victims with a "sympathy payment" of 300,000 yen ($830) for deceased victims and 100,000 yen ($280) annually for the living. The company did not accept legal responsibility for the illness, however, and insisted the payments were simply humanitarian. In December 1959, Minamata's mayor and city council pressured victims to accept the "sympathy payment" in order to restore social harmony to Minamata and to "close the books" on the issue before the new year. The victims signed the agreement.

Meanwhile, the area fishermen's union continued to pressure Chisso to admit responsibility for contamination of Minamata Bay and to undertake a cleanup effort. When Chisso refused, the fishermen stormed the factory to demand a response from Chisso's top executives. The incident ended with the establishment of a mediation committee to address the problems related to pollution in Minamata Bay. When disease victims staged a sit-in protest at Chisso's factory gate, the committee agreed to mediate the issue of victims' compensation as well. The outcome of the mediation effort was a payment by Chisso of 74 million yen ($206,000) to disease victims and 35 million yen ($98,000) to the fishermen. In signing the agreement, both groups agreed not to seek further payments should waste from Chisso's factories be shown to have caused the disease.

Medical Research and the Government Role

For several years, medical researchers at Kumamoto University Medical School worked to determine the cause of the disease, as did researchers from other countries. A British researcher named Douglas McAlpine was the first to suggest excessive concentration of organic mercury in nerve tissue might be the cause of the disease. In 1959, the Kumamoto team published a report linking the disease to eating fish contaminated by mercury. The team implied, but never explicitly stated, that Chisso's wastes had provided the mercury that caused the terrible chain of illness and death. Chisso Corporation refused to allow its factory wastes to be analyzed for mercury compounds, so public confirmation of Chisso's culpability was drastically delayed. The Ministry of Health and Welfare cut off research funds for the Kumamoto team in 1960. The government then transferred responsibility for determining the cause of the disease from the Ministry of Health and Welfare to the pro-industry Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI) and the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry (MAF). For the next eight years, MITI and MAF delayed investigation into the cause of the disease, protecting the Chisso Corporation from facing financial and legal responsibility. Meanwhile, Minamata disease victims subsisted on the payments they received from Chisso.

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[5] Frank Upham, "Unplaced Persons and Movements for Place," in Andrew Gordon, ed., *Postwar Japan as History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963), p. 338.

Instructions for Groups

Meet with your group to discuss the problems faced by your group and the situation as it stood in the mid-1960s.

Develop a proposal to resolve the challenges faced by your group. Then prepare a public statement that both justifies the actions of your group thus far and describes your group's proposal for resolving the problems in Minamata.

Write your group's proposal and public statement below.

Proposal:

Public statement:

Conclusion of the Minamata Case

The Niigata mercury poisoning case and the lawsuit against Showa Denko caused a shock wave to roll through Minamata, disrupting the uneasy status quo between Chisso Corporation and the disease victims. After meeting with a group of Niigata victims, the Minamata victims decided to file a lawsuit against Chisso. The Niigata and Minamata cases would have a profound impact on Japanese society and on the government's commitment to uncontrolled economic growth.

The decisions in the Niigata and Minamata cases handed down in the early 1970s were both dramatic victories for the victims of industrial mercury poisoning. In the Minamata case, Judge Saito Jiro found Chisso guilty of "gross negligence" for discharging mercury wastes into the environment. The judge ordered Chisso to pay more than 937 million yen ($3.6 million) in compensation to victims' families. The size of this settlement was unprecedented in Japanese history. During the course of the proceedings, Chisso finally acknowledged the cause-and-effect relationship between Chisso factory wastes and Minamata disease. Part of the official apology stated:

> Chisso deeply apologizes to those patients and their families, already in great poverty, who experienced further suffering from contracting Minamata disease, who suffered as a result of Chisso's attitudes, who were subjected to various types of humiliation and, as a result, suffered from discrimination by local society.
>
> Furthermore, Chisso deeply apologizes to all of society . . . for its regrettable attitude of evading its responsibility and for delaying a solution, as this caused much inconvenience to society.[1]

The anti-pollution movement ignited by these cases was described at the time as a radically new form of Japanese political action, one that challenged the consensus-based style of traditional politics and the self-image of the Japanese as preferring social harmony to conflict.

The newly powerful environmental movement and the decisions in the Niigata and Minamata lawsuits forced the government to respond to the human costs of high-speed economic growth. The government acted quickly to establish procedures by which citizens could help decide on future industrial development; a process was also established for citizens to seek redress from the government for pollution-related illness. Within a decade, Japan transformed itself from the most highly polluted advanced nation to one that compared well with other industrial societies. The new laws enacted by the government established Japan as an innovator in environmental policy and as a world leader in pollution control.

In Minamata, the damage to thousands of citizens had been done. In 1975, two former Chisso executives were charged with negligent homicide for their company's role in poisoning Minamata residents; they were eventually convicted of the crime. The new laws put into effect by Japan's LDP government ensured that no new Minamatas would occur. The laws also had the effect of minimizing environmental protest and restoring political and social harmony in Japan.

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[1] Norie Huddle and Michael Reich, *Island of Dreams: Environmental Crisis in Japan* (New York: Autumn Press, 1975), p. 130.

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Readings from *Paradise in the Sea of Sorrows: Our Minamata Disease*
by Ishimure Michiko

Ishimure Michiko, a wife, mother, and author from Minamata, published a book about the suffering of Minamata disease victims in 1972—the peak of Japan's anti-pollution movement. The book, Kugai Jodo: Waga Minamata-byo (Paradise in the Sea of Sorrows: Our Minamata Disease), *was a literary sensation; it had an enormous impact on Japanese society. Japanese literary critics and writers considered its publication the most important literary event of postwar Japan. Many people who read the book were spurred to take political action; some traveled to Minamata to aid victims of Minamata disease. Ishimure also worked on behalf of victims in the Association for Countering Minamata Disease. Her numerous articles and books about Minamata disease focused attention on the lethal aspects of unbridled industrial and economic growth in postwar Japan.* Kugai Jodo *became required reading in Japan's high schools.*

Young Yamanaka Kuhei

I remember an autumn afternoon in 1963, the year before last. The children had all come back in from the beach. The autumn shadows hung low over the sloping streets of Yudo; the scent of fallen flowers and green tangerines floated in the air. No sound could be heard from the village or the sea. On afternoons like this it was as if a soothing blanket of silence wrapped the fishing village.

The villagers were all away, either fishing out at sea or on business in town. Even the hens resting on their perch seemed to be asleep. Holding my breath, I stood motionless in the garden in front of Yamanaka Kuhei's house.

It was unusual for the boy to be outdoors at that time of the day. He was diligently exercising as if preparing for a baseball game. He assumed the prescribed posture again and again with such an intense, almost frightening seriousness that I didn't dare call him. I stood transfixed, watching him.

Young Kuhei held a stick in his hands.

Faltering though I know his gait and movements always were, he seemed for an instant to have petrified in that baseball posture, his back bent in an ugly curve. Seen from the back, he looked like an old man. Especially the lower half of his body betrayed an awkwardness sadly incongruous with his age. He seemed to be struggling with all his might against his own prematurely aged body. And yet his skin exuded the delicate tender smell of youth and his shoulders showed an unmistakably adolescent bold angularity. He might have grown into a robust fisherman if he had not been affected with Minamata Disease. He had old, worn clogs on. The simple action of putting his clogs on was a terrible trial.

The boy was shaking slightly because of the extreme concentration involved in his training. With his legs wide apart, he squatted down and started to tap the ground with his stick, describing a circle about himself. Then he crawled on his knees and, placing one hand on the

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Source: Excerpted from Ishimure Michiko, *Paradise in the Sea of Sorrow: Our Minamata Disease*, translated by Livia Monnet (Japan: Yamaguchi Publishing House, 1990), pp. 6-10, 360-365. © Ishimure Michiko. Used by permission.

ground, continued to hit it in the same way as before, his head tilted to the side. His hair was closely cropped. He was obviously looking for something. After a few more minutes of prodding with his stick, he finally found the small stone he had been looking for. The boy was blind.

Placing his stick carefully beside him, he remained motionless for a while, clasping his stone lovingly in his hand. His right hand was half-paralyzed.

The boy seemed to be thoroughly familiar with the thin, oblong stone he held in his left hand. Tiny drops of perspiration trickled from it.

I learned later that he had found this stone five years earlier, when the road passing in front of the house was being repaired, and that he had used it constantly since. He kept it in a small cavity he had dug in the dirt-floor at home to prevent it from rolling away. I could visualize the boy searching for the hiding place: crawling across the dirt-floor, groping about with half-closed eyes and upturned face, and finally placing the stone in the cavity with the infinite care. . . . A moment so poignant that I could feel the stone's heart beating.

Rising to his feet with great difficulty like an old man trying to stretch his hurting limbs, Kuhei threw the stone in the air with all his might. The expression on his face was intent and serious. Then, holding his stick with both hands, he swiftly struck to the side, as if to catch the stone. This was the fastest and most precise of the steps he had performed so far. The lower part of his body trembled violently, but he was able to keep his balance. The stone Kuhei was using as a ball had fallen and rolled off in the direction he had least desired and at quite a distance from where he stood. Blind as he was, he couldn't of course see that the stone had already fallen back to the ground even while he was brandishing his bat to catch it.

Tilting his head, he again started to probe the ground with his improvised bat.

It was long past lunchtime. The villagers had gone to work either in the fields, or out at sea, or in town. The village looked unreal, like miniature houses set in a glass bottle. The autumn afternoon air in the village usually reverberated with the roar of boats leaving the bay, together with the voices of old villagers calling their grandchildren and the clucking of hens searching for grains in the grass. That day, however, the village could have been sleeping, so perfect was the silence surrounding it. Intent on his pantomime of a baseball player, which he performed like an esoteric ritual, Kuhei was the only dynamic element in that still scenery. He moved about in a sheath of light. Still standing motionless on the same spot, my breath merged with the breath of the grass, the trees and the stones. I was one with the boy's movements. His neck shone with perspiration.

It seemed to me that I had been watching him for hours. I stepped forward and called out his name.

Kuhei started and dropped his stick. The soundless harmony that had enveloped both the boy and the village in a maternal embrace was suddenly broken. The boy remained riveted to the spot. He looked as though he was desperately trying to recall the way back into the house. Then he started withdrawing step by step. He disappeared inside before I could say something to vindicate myself.

This was my first encounter with Yamanaka Kuhei. He was roughly the same age as my son. As I watched him hastily retreat into the house, feelings of motherly love overwhelmed me, almost bending me in two. . . .

High Tide

I finally overtook Chisso's president and his party in front of Watanabe Eizo's house. The old man had just come out to take leave of the distinguished visitors when he caught sight of my taxi. Leaning forward on top of the stone stairs leading to his house, he raised his hand to greet me, his usual roguish, amazingly young smile playing around the corner of his eyes. We drove on along National Highway No. 3.

We soon arrived in Modo. The road on the sea-wall along the beach was so narrow that cars and pedestrians could not pass at the same time. The huge shiny-black cars of Chisso's management had stopped in front of the house of congenital Minimata Disease patient Morimoto Hisae. The way was completely blocked. I had no choice but to get out of the taxi and walk along the narrow path winding through neat vegetable gardens bordering the beach. The path was strangely empty and silent. The clouds of sea-lice which usually swarmed blissfully about were nowhere to be seen: frightened by the arrival of the monstrous black cars and the strange beings who had crawled out of them, the minute insects must have fled for their lives into the cracks of the stone wall. It was high tide.

A group of gentlemen wearing elegant black suits typical of company top executives entered the house of the Morimotos one by one. I had a list of Minamata Disease patients compiled by the City Office. Upon Chisso's orders, many of the victims whose names figured in the list had been designated as "healthy" by the team of medical experts who had to determine who was entitled to compensation from the company and who was not.

I felt infinitely heavy, weighed down by an overpowering sense of emptiness and futility. For some reason I tried to visualize the archaeological treasures of Pharaonic Egypt which were obliterated by Lake Nasser, the gigantic reservoir of the Aswan High Dam.

As I sat on the edge of the verandah, I could hear President Eto's voice quite clearly. His words of apology sounded like air bubbles rising to the surface of a pond.

". . . I don't know how to apologize for all the suffering we have caused you . . . I pledge my word that we shall do our best to look after your daughter, as long as she lives."

Morimoto Hisae's mother listened in silence, her eyes fixed on the ground. No sooner had Chisso's president finished delivering his message than she got up to see him and his entourage out. Taking leave of her visitors with a deep, humble bow, she crawled up to me on her knees and, still tongue-tied by emotion, quietly began to weep.

Since President Eto had not made public his intention to visit the Disease victims and their families to personally offer them his apologies, confining himself to hinting vaguely at this possibility at the press conference held after the announcement of the government's stand on Minamata Disease, quite a number of people he wanted to see were not at home.

However, Ibaraki Taeko and her younger brother Tsugunori, who had been informed of his arrival, were waiting for him at their home in the village of Detsuki. Taeko's and Tsugunori's father had died of acute Minamata Disease not long after the outbreak of the epidemic of poisoning in the early 1950's. Their mother, a chronic case, died a few years later. After their parents' death Taeko devoted herself to looking after her brother, who also suffered from chronic Minamata Disease and whose condition deteriorated slowly, but steadily. To support herself and her brother, she tried her hand at several jobs, including that of construction laborer. As the years passed and she turned down one marriage proposal after another, Taeko suddenly found herself past the marriageable age, emotionally hardened and without a soul in the world except her invalid brother. As soon as she saw the group of gentlemen from Tokyo, she called out to them: "Welcome, welcome. It's taken you quite a while to get here, hasn't it, no less than fifteen years, eh?"

Raindrops started to come down in rapid succession.

"So you've come to apologize.

"They say that you tried to intimidate the townsfolk by threatening to close down the factory. Why don't you do it? Why don't you keep your promise and shut down your damn factory? Who do you think you are anyway, to put on such airs and try to blackmail us without the slightest sense of shame? Why don't you really close down your damn factory and clear out of here with your machines, poisons and all? Don't you think you've killed enough people? I'd like to see Minamata without the likes of you. The sooner you clear out the better. And don't you leave no trace when you go, not a nail, not a piece of wire, not even a clump of earth. Take your factory to Tokyo, Osaka, wherever you like, but leave us alone; we don't need you here.

"Who said Minamata will be ruined without you? The folks in Amakusa, Nagashima and many other places have no industry and live only on sweet potatoes and wheat, but they're no less happy nor short-lived for that. Our forefathers never saw a factory in their life and subsisted only on wheat and sweet potatoes, but they lived to a ripe old age. Of course they were poor; when they came to Minamata, my parents didn't have a penny, and they didn't get rich afterwards either. But they never grumbled about their poverty. We never thought it was wrong or unjust to be poor, and never envied the rich. If your mercury hadn't killed them, my parents would still be around and well. Don't think that we owe you anything. Don't you dare imagine that we feel grateful to you. If you think there is a species of men who feels indebted to you, or whom you've made into what they are, you might as well take them with you. Yes, why don't you lead them away to wherever you'll move your damned factory? My father and mother, most fishermen in Minamata have died of the poisoned waste from your factory, but I've never heard of anyone dying from eating wheat and sweet potatoes. Now don't get me wrong—I'd be very upset if you didn't get my meaning." . . .

Choking with sobs, Taeko stopped talking. However, she quickly composed her features and went on with her monologue in a stern voice, as if scolding herself for having betrayed her feelings.

"What are you waiting for? Why don't you come in? My parents' souls are waiting for you; they've been waiting for years. Why do you stand there as if you'd swallowed a stick? Come in and pray at the altar. Whether or not you pray and burn incense, you won't be punished for your crimes anyway . . . Come in, I've prepared enough incense sticks for all of you."

Taeko was so insistent that the Chisso officials had no choice but to go in and pray at the Buddhist altar on which the photographs of the deceased parents were placed. It was the first time they had paid their respects to the dead victims of Minamata Disease. Having said their prayers and burnt incense, the gentlemen from Tokyo got up and went out into the rain without a word. They had to continue their round of the patients' homes.

Eto's party had barely left when I arrived at the Ibarakis'.

"What a shame!" Taeko exclaimed when she saw me. "You missed them by a few minutes, they've just left."

Looking up at the sky with tears still glistening in her eyes, she went on.

"I don't feel relieved at all . . . I'm so upset I could die, to think that I wanted to say everything, to rid my mind of all I'd been turning over in my mind for fifteen years, to empty my heart of all the sadness and pain weighing down there like a load of stones . . . But I couldn't find the words to express what was on my mind . . .

"Though I'd intended not to cry I ended up crying. I felt so low and forlorn I could've sunk into the ground."

Taeko got up, strode back and forth in the garden with big, masculine strides, came back to the verandah, sat down next to me and went on talking: "I was born a woman, but life has made me into a man. Especially these past few months I've been thinking, talking and behaving like a man."

As she cast down her eyes out of a (still very feminine) instinct, a sudden gust of wind blew up the few stray hairs hanging down from her chignon on the deeply tanned nape of her neck. When she looked at me again the beauty of her big, dark, misty eyes made me hold my breath. The rain shower had turned into a fine, misty curtain.

"Well, enough moping for today. Let's see if the offerings on the altar taste good or not."

Rising a bit totteringly, as if dazzled by the light, Taeko went toward the Buddhist altar, took down the small parcel brought by the Chisso officials and vanished into the kitchen. She soon came out again with a kitchen knife in her hand. Her strong, impressive figure emanated something of the other worldliness of the women shamanesses and sorceresses of olden times.

"Let's see what the big boss from Tokyo brought us. It must be something good.

"My, it's *yokan*-bean jelly, the best *yokan* from Tokyo, Tsugunori! Let's taste it right away. Shall I make some tea? It'll go well with the *yokan*. I'm sorry, I completely forgot you are our guest."

Putting down the box she held in her hand, Taeko cut the block of sweet bean jelly into square portions. Her face brightening with childish delight, she pushed the portions toward me, urging me to help myself: "You first!"

7

Heterogeneous Japan: Dispelling the Myth of Homogeneity

Introduction: Japan is often presented and taught as a homogeneous, monolithic society. Book titles of the 1970s and 1980s, such as *The Japanese* (by Edwin O. Reischauer) and *As the Japanese See It: Past and Present* (compiled and edited by Michiko Y. Aoki and Margaret B. Dardess), contributed to the notion that Japan is racially and culturally homogeneous.

In the postwar period, however, Japan became an increasingly heterogeneous society. Many minority groups lived side by side with the majority in the Japanese archipelago. These groups included Ainu, the indigenous people of Hokkaido and northern Honshu; Korean (and Korean Japanese) and Chinese communities that developed as a consequence of Japan's imperialist expansion on the Asian mainland; Burakumin, ethnic Japanese whose ancestors were made outcasts during Japan's feudal period; Okinawans of the Ryukyu Islands; "foreign workers," particularly from South and Southeast Asia, whose numbers were small but pervasive in certain industries, such as entertainment and construction; and others.

This lesson introduces students to voices from Japan—including those of Ainu, Koreans (and Korean Japanese), Burakumin, and Okinawans. The lesson asks: What did it mean to mem-bers of these groups to be Japanese? How might they have perceived and defined themselves, the groups to which they belonged, and Japan during this postwar period? Using learning stations as an organizing tool, the lesson depicts diversity within the island nation. While the activity offers evidence about four groups in Japan, it does not lead students to any final conclusions about them. Like American society, Japanese society is complex; it requires more study than this lesson allows.

Objectives: At the conclusion of this lesson, students will be able to:

1. Raise questions about the concept "We Japanese."
2. Attest to the heterogeneous nature of Japanese society.
3. Cite sources to explain their observations on Japan's heterogeneity.
4. Describe more than one perspective on issues of diversity within Japanese culture.
5. Make and dispute generalizations about population groups or minorities within Japan.
6. Identify information needed to draw conclusions about groups within Japan.

Materials: Copies of Handouts 7A and 7B for all students; several sets of the Data Packets for Learning Stations 1 through 4; unit CD-ROM; computer; four pieces of tagboard, one for each learning station, with the information from the **Background Notes** reproduced on them

Time Required: 3-4 class periods plus homework

Procedure:

This lesson has numerous readings. Depending upon the makeup of your class, you may want to read all the documents for each learning station before using the lesson. Note that the group studying Koreans and Korean Japanese will need access to the unit CD-ROM and a computer, so their work area should be located accordingly. Notes regarding the pronunciation of

Ainu and Korean terms are provided at the end of the lesson plan. You may wish to share this information with the appropriate student groups.

Part I: "We Japanese"

1. Begin the lesson by asking students to describe what a homogeneous society would look like. (Be sure they understand the term before trying to describe it.) Then ask them to describe American society in a few words. Can they do it? How would they describe an American? How many versions does the class come up with—the same number as there are students? What did Americans between 1945 and 1989 look like? Where had their ancestors come from? Did they all speak the same language?

2. Ask students to describe Japanese society in a few words. What are their images of Japanese people during the postwar period? If they had visited Japan and met the population between 1945 and 1989, what would they have seen? What would the people have looked like? Where would their ancestors have come from? Would they all have spoken the same language? Ask students to jot down some thoughts—or to draw some pictures—on these subjects and to save them for later discussion. *Assuming that students have not studied Japan in any depth, they will likely suggest that for the most part, Japanese people looked alike, were descended from the same ancestors, and spoke the same language (some may also suggest that they all practiced the same religion).*

3. Distribute copies of Handout 7A, which shows a page from a book published in Tokyo in 1985, *Japan As It Is: A Bilingual Guide*. Tell students that, according to the book jacket, the guide "discusses Japanese thinking, behavioral patterns, perceptions of flora and fauna, and many other underlying aspects (of Japan)." It tells the reader, "If you have time for only one book on Japan, this miniature encyclopedia is it."

4. Inform students that each explanation is provided in Japanese and English on facing pages, just as shown on the page they are holding. As they read the page, ask them to think about the image of Japan and Japanese people the entry projects. When they have finished reading, ask what message the page conveys. *Answers might include that Japanese are different from Westerners, Japanese brains are different from the brains of other humans, brains change depending upon what language a person learns, or Japanese people are different from all other people.*

5. Draw students' attention to the sentence, "Tsunoda's theory has thus become extremely popular as a scientific explanation for Japan's distinctive patterns of culture and logic." Ask students: What is Tsunoda's theory? What does this statement imply? *Answers are likely to include the idea that Japanese society is unique and uniform.*

6. Tell students that during much of the postwar period it was popular among Japanese and non-Japanese alike to present Japanese society as homogeneous; Japanese intellectuals as well as other people often spoke in terms of "We Japanese." Announce that over the next three days students will be "introduced" to groups within Japan that do not necessarily conform to the stereotype (be sure they know the meaning of the term) commonly invoked by the phrase "We Japanese." Students will "visit" learning stations that include sources that provide evidence disputing the notion of Japan as a homogeneous society.

Part II: Heterogeneous Japan Learning Stations

1. Set up the learning stations by moving groups of desks or tables into four work areas. Assign students to one of the four stations, give each student a question sheet (Handout 7B), and

read over the questions with the class. Explain that each station has different materials; students are responsible for reading and viewing the materials at the station to which they have been assigned. (If you can spend several days on this activity, encourage students to visit more than one station.) Although students will work primarily on an individual basis, encourage group cooperation. The final activity will be a group effort. Ask two students to be responsible for taking the designated materials to the appropriate stations and for seeing that materials are returned to you at the end of the period.

2. Explain to students that each station contains many different "voices," all of which are from Japan; these "voices" may not agree with one another. Assure students that you are not expecting them to become experts on the group featured at their station and not requiring them to reach final conclusions about that group. You are, however, anticipating that they will think seriously about the group, answer the questions on Handout 7B, and raise additional questions of their own.

3. Allow time for students to begin exploring the documents at their learning station.

4. As homework, ask students to write a short (three-paragraph) essay on their initial impressions of the group represented at their learning station. They should use these essays as reference when completing Handout 7B.

5. After students are settled at their learning stations, they should spend the next class period reading the materials, taking notes (on scratch paper) as they prepare to answer the questions on Handout 7B.

6. For homework, ask students to complete the question sheets and to prepare to discuss their answers during class the next day.

7. At the beginning of the next class period, allow students to return to the learning stations to check sources for accuracy and discuss their findings/answers with members of their group.

Part III: Characteristics of Heterogeneous Japan

1. As a culminating activity, remind students of the first day's handout, which included a page from *Japan As It Is: A Bilingual Guide* that suggested Japan is a homogeneous society. Ask them to recall what they said about Japanese people when first asked what they looked like, where their ancestors came from, and so on. Then ask whether students now agree with their earlier statements. *Students should have plenty of evidence to contradict their earlier assumptions that all Japanese look alike, are descended from common ancestors, and speak the same language.*

2. Tell students that on another page (25) of *Japan As It Is*, a paragraph titled "Homogeneity" appears. It begins "Varying little by region, religion, or person, Japanese culture is basically uniform throughout the country . . ." Based on the evidence they examined at their learning stations, do students now find themselves agreeing or disagreeing with this statement? If time allows, you might ask students why the authors/publishers of *Japan As It Is* would promote the idea that Japan is a homogeneous society. *Answers might include that they want readers to think about Japan as a harmonious society, one in which a history and values are shared.*

3. Organize the students into new groups, with each group including at least one representative from each of the four learning stations. Tell each group they are to appear before the editorial board of *Japan As It Is*. The group's purpose is to argue for a revised entry under the caption, "Characteristics of Japanese Culture."

4. Each group should decide the title of the revised entry and organize the contents so they reflect what was learned about Japanese culture through the learning stations activity. (Students may need in-class time to work together as a group on this activity.) Each group should choose a facilitator to lead discussion, a scribe to record suggestions, authors to write the entry from the suggestions, a keyboardist to create the publishable copy, and a reporter to read the final product to the editorial board.

5. Allow time for groups to make their presentations; display the completed pages on the bulletin board following the presentations. You may also want to arrange to copy the pages for distribution to the class for use in preparing for a test (if you plan to give one) or to compare with demographic information on minorities in contemporary Japan, available from various sources in the Internet and those listed in **Additional Sources** below.

Recommended Films: Adding a video to each learning center would be a useful supplement. Possibilities include the following:

Learning Station 1: Ainu. *The Way Forward: The Ainu, Indigenous People of Japan* (Ainu Association of Japan, NHS Hokkaido Vision, 1993). Filmed in Hokkaido, the video combines a historical overview of Ainu culture with an explanation of daily life and customs. It includes the actions taken by the Ainu in the early 1990s to change laws in Japan and to influence the international community.

Learning Station 2: Burakumin. *The Hidden Japan* (Maryknoll World Video Library, 1987). Much of this video takes place in Sanya, a district of Tokyo where many of the outcasts of Japanese society gather. It shows how members of the Maryknoll Order together with Japanese volunteers responded during the 1980s to the needs of drug addicts, alcoholics, and homeless people.

Learning Station 3: Koreans/Korean Japanese. *Osaka Story* (Nakata, 1994). This study of the filmmaker's family dramatizes the complex conditions of racial discrimination experienced by Korean Japanese living in Japan.

Learning Station 4: Okinawans. *Faces of Japan: The Fashion Model* (TeleJapan USA, 1988). Chiharu is a successful model because of her beautiful and exotic Japanese-American features, but those same features make her an outsider in Japanese society. This duality, complicated further by the fact that her mother is from Okinawa, reveals the social rejection and racial discrimination faced by many minorities.

Additional Sources:

Fitzhugh, William W., and Chisato O. Dubreuill (eds.), *Ainu: Spirit of a Northern People* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999). In this book based on an exhibition at the Arctic Studies Center at the National Museum of Natural History (Smithsonian Institution), leading authorities present contemporary scholarship on Ainu studies.

Johnson, Chalmers, *Blowback: The Costs and Consequences of American Empire* (New York: Henry Holt, 2000). In Chapter 2, "Okinawa: Asia's Last Colony," Johnson (president of the Japan Policy Research Institute and professor emeritus at the University of California, San Diego) offers insights into American military involvement in and influence on Okinawan society.

The Social Fabric of Japan: Case Studies of Selected Minority Groups (Stanford, CA: Stanford Program on International and Cross-Cultural Education, 2000). This curriculum unit includes three lessons on minority groups in Japan. It offers suggestions for understanding the basis of identity and how it varies, as well as case studies on the Burakumin, Ainu, Okinawans, and Koreans in Japan.

Sugimoto, Yoshio, *Introduction to Japanese Society* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997). This introduction to Japanese society includes several pages on "Multicultural Japan." Topics include minority-related issues, such as the sampling problem and the question of visibility, assumptions of homogeneity, and diversity and stratification.

Notes on Pronouncing Ainu Terms: The romanization of Ainu words is very close to the English pronunciation. The *e* sound is like *ay* or *ey* rather than an open sound as in English. The *i* is pronounced *ee*. The dipthong *ai* is pronounced like *eye*. The *r* sound is more clearly pronounced than in American English, perhaps somewhat as in European languages. Ainu terms in the data packet include Charanke, iyoitakkote, kukorainu, Nisukrekkur, Sarainu, Sarunkur, wenkur, wenpe, and tukipasuy.

Notes on Pronouncing Korean Terms: English does not contain every sound used in the Korean language, particularly in terms of the vowel sounds. An excellent Internet site with detailed information on pronunciation of romanized Korean words can be found at http://www.koreanculture.org/pronunc.htm. According to that site, the closest approximations for the vowel sounds are:

a	as in *stall*
ae	between *aim* and *am*
e	as in *bed*
eo	as in *bun*
eu	as in chicken cordon *bleu*
i	as in *reek*
o	as in *dome*
oi, oe	pronounced *weh*, with soft *w* sound, as in *swell*
u	as in *crew*
ue	also pronounced *weh* but with a stronger *w* sound *wedding*
ui	pronounced *we*, with a soft *w* sound, as in the French *oui*
wo	as in *wonder*

Korean words, phrases, and names included in the data packet include moni, ab chi, chokoku, Tae rulio Chungsong ue tahary omnida, Chongryun, Juche, Song Pu-ja, Park Chong Suk, Changsoo Lee, Cho Chang Kuk, Yumi Lee, Kim Hak-Yong, Sonia Ryang.

Directions for Learning Stations

Learning Station Number: ________________

Population Group Studied: ____

Materials Needed: Pencils and paper, Handout 7B, Data Packet ___

Directions:

Although society as a whole in postwar Japan was homogeneous, you will learn from this lesson that there was more diversity than is usually assumed.

Handout 7B will guide your study at this station. Although you will work primarily on an individual basis, cooperating with others at the station will help you clarify and extend your thinking. Sharing information and discussing ideas and questions are encouraged.

Each piece of evidence at your learning station will be helpful in preparing for the lesson's culminating activity, which will require you to work with students assigned to other stations to develop a description of "Characteristics of Japanese Culture."

When you enter the classroom during the learning stations activity, move your desks or tables to create the stations. Then proceed to the station at which you are working and begin your work for the day.

Two student volunteers will be responsible for taking the designated materials to the appropriate stations. They will also return the materials to the teacher at the end of the period. Help these students by returning all the materials promptly.

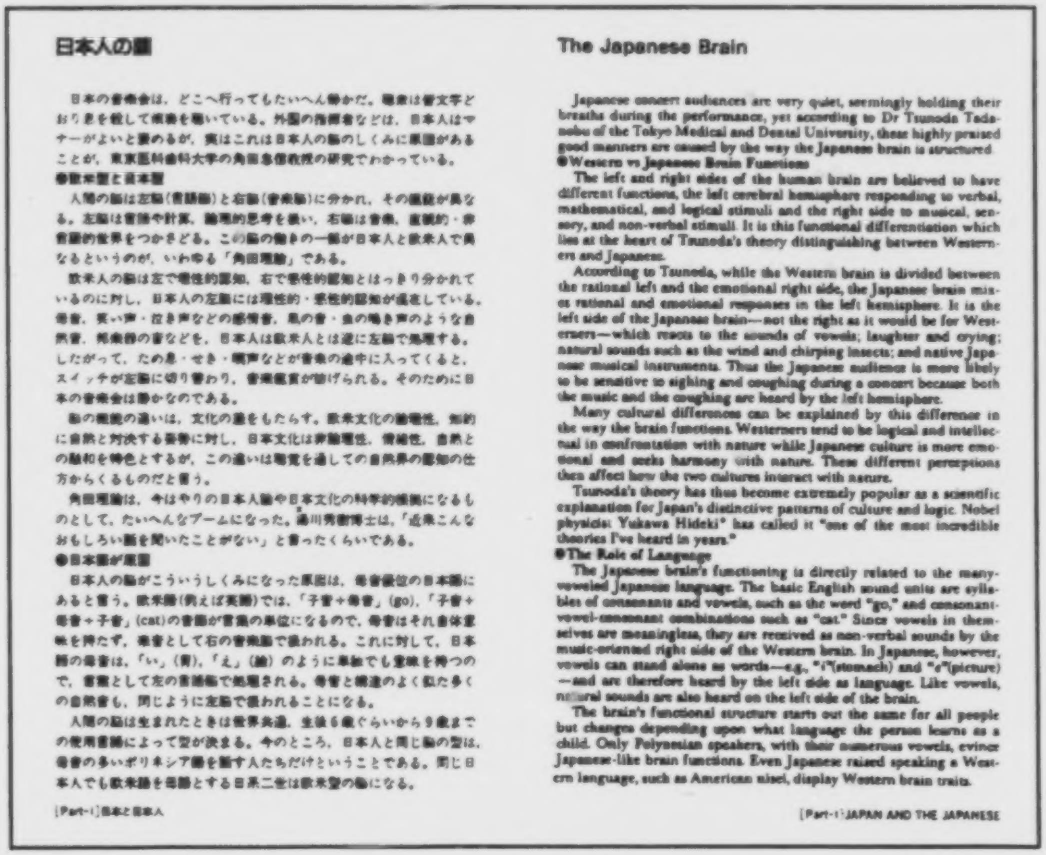
Station Objectives:

While you are working at this station, you will:

- Learn about the heterogeneous nature of Japanese society.
- Cite sources from your reading to explain your observations on Japan's heterogeneity.
- Describe multiple perspectives on diversity within Japanese culture.
- Make and dispute generalizations about population groups or minorities within Japan.
- Identify types of information needed to draw conclusions about groups or minorities within Japan.

Japan As It Is?

This is a page from Japan As It Is: A Bilingual Guide, *published in Tokyo in 1985. The guide includes short descriptions of various topics related to Japan and the Japanese: for example, "Views of Life and Death," "Groupism," and this one on "The Japanese Brain." What conclusions might you draw about Japan and Japanese people?*



The Japanese Brain

Japanese concert audiences are very quiet, seemingly holding their breaths during the performance, yet according to Dr Tsunoda Tadanobu of the Tokyo Medical and Dental University, these highly praised good manners are caused by the way the Japanese brain is structured.

●Western vs Japanese Brain Functions

The left and right sides of the human brain are believed to have different functions, the left cerebral hemisphere responding to verbal, mathematical, and logical stimuli and the right side to musical, sensory, and non-verbal stimuli. It is this functional differentiation which lies at the heart of Tsunoda's theory distinguishing between Westerners and Japanese.

According to Tsunoda, while the Western brain is divided between the rational left and the emotional right side, the Japanese brain mixes rational and emotional responses in the left hemisphere. It is the left side of the Japanese brain—not the right as it would be for Westerners—which reacts to the sounds of vowels; laughter and crying; natural sounds such as the wind and chirping insects; and native Japanese musical instruments. Thus the Japanese audience is more likely to be sensitive to sighing and coughing during a concert because both the music and the coughing are heard by the left hemisphere.

Many cultural differences can be explained by this difference in the way the brain functions. Westerners tend to be logical and intellectual in confrontation with nature while Japanese culture is more emotional and seeks harmony with nature. These different perceptions then affect how the two cultures interact with nature.

Tsunoda's theory has thus become extremely popular as a scientific explanation for Japan's distinctive patterns of culture and logic. Nobel physicist Yukawa Hideki* has called it "one of the most incredible theories I've heard in years."

●The Role of Language

The Japanese brain's functioning is directly related to the many-voweled Japanese language. The basic English sound units are syllables of consonants and vowels, such as the word "go," and consonant-vowel-consonant combinations such as "cat." Since vowels in themselves are meaningless, they are received as non-verbal sounds by the music-oriented right side of the Western brain. In Japanese, however, vowels can stand alone as words—e.g., "*i*"(stomach) and "*e*"(picture)—and are therefore heard by the left side as language. Like vowels, natural sounds are also heard on the left side of the brain.

The brain's functional structure starts out the same for all people but changes depending upon what language the person learns as a child. Only Polynesian speakers, with their numerous vowels, evince Japanese-like brain functions. Even Japanese raised speaking a Western language, such as American nisei, display Western brain traits.

[Part-1] JAPAN AND THE JAPANESE

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Source: *Japan As It Is: A Bilingual Guide* (Tokyo: Gakken Co., Ltd., 1985), pp. 42-43. Used by permission of Gakken, International Division.

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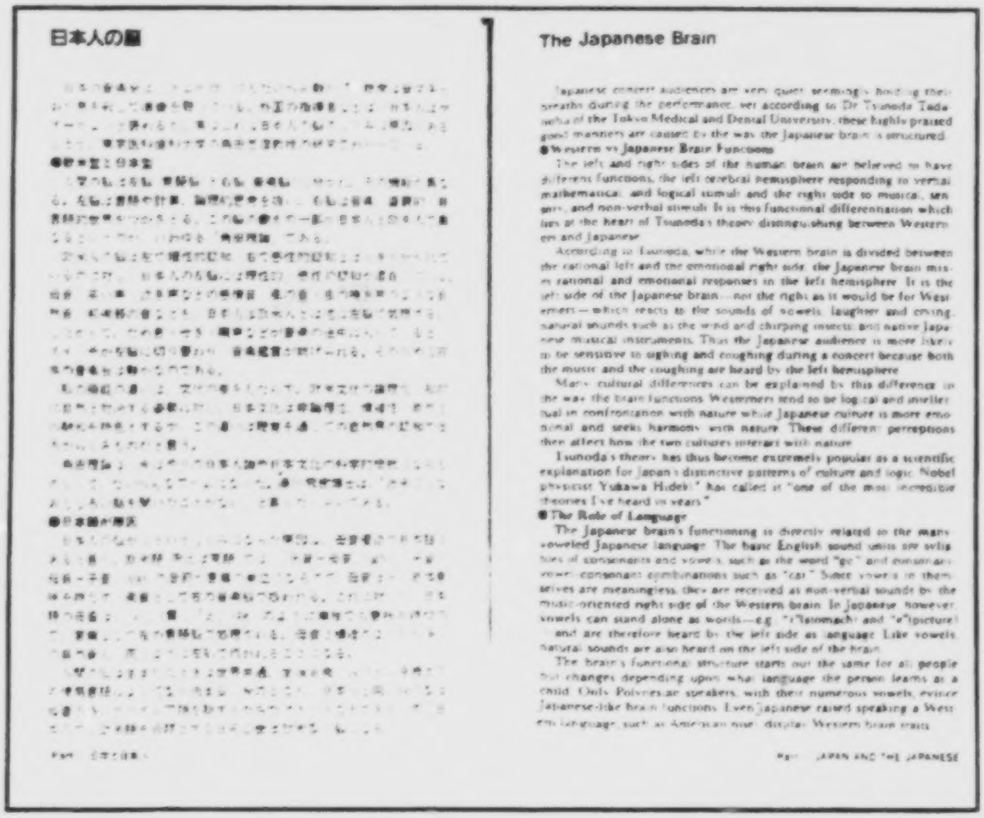

日本人の脳

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JAPAN AND THE JAPANESE

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Question Sheet for Population Group at Learning Station

1. From the evidence available at this learning station, what five things are you ***certain you know*** about the group featured? (Use at least three different sources and cite those that include the information.)

2. What additional five things do you ***think you know*** about the group featured at this station? (Use at least three different sources and cite those that led you to believe what you think is true.)

3. From the evidence available to you at this station, write a generalization about the group featured. What three pieces of evidence from 1 and 2 above would you use to support that generalization?

4. Is there any evidence at this learning station that would contradict your generalization? List that evidence below, citing sources.

5. Is there any reason to doubt the objectivity or credibility of the evidence at this station? If so, explain.

6. What additional evidence would you need (or would you like to have) in order to draw final conclusions about the group featured at this station?

7. From the evidence you have, what do you think it meant to members of this group to be Japanese? How do you think they defined and perceived themselves during the postwar period?

8. Remember that this lesson focuses on Japan between 1945 and 1989 and that a generalization is a statement that applies in different times and places. How might you go about determining whether your generalizations are reliable today?

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Document 1: Readings from Harukor: An Ainu Woman's Tale

In 1982, Honda Katsuichi, a leading Japanese writer and journalist, wrote a series of articles for the Asahi Shinbun (newspaper) about the Ainu, a people and culture he admires. The excerpts below are from his book Harukor: An Ainu Woman's Tale, *which is based on the articles in the series.*

Many peoples have used their word for "human" to designate themselves. Among them are the Inuit (Eskimo), Koin (Hottentot), Sahme (Lapp), Nivf (Giriyak), Wilta (Orokko), Interimen (Kamchadahl), Caecar (Arakalf), and Yamana (Yagan). The connotation of this word "human" differs somewhat from people to people, reflecting their various backgrounds.

In the case of *ainu*, the word is, first of all, contrasted to *kamui*, a word that designates the male and female gods who dwell in the spiritual world. . . . The word *ainu* refers, instead, to a living body—a being of the secular as opposed to the spiritual world. The word originally denoted humans in general, not just the Ainu people. . . .

The word *ainu* is, of course, used for humans as opposed to animals; but depending on the context, it can mean "husband," as in the compound *kukorainu* (my man), or it can mean "man" as opposed to "woman," or "father" as opposed to "child." . . .

Ainu can also be attached as an honorific suffix meaning "Mr." or "a person of." This usage is somewhat less respectful than the suffix *-kur*. For example, referring to a Saru region inhabitant as *Sarunkur* is more respectful than *Sarainu*. The latter broadly includes middle and lesser, or average, people. Sometimes, however, *-kur* is employed without the connotation of respect. Thus *wenkur* (a bad human) simply means the same thing as *wenpe*. In addition, *ainu* can be suffixed to a male name in a manner that corresponds to the Japanese *-r* in Tar , *-o* in Akio, or *-hito* in Hirohito. The ending of the names of the Ainu heroes Koshamain and Shakushain is considered to stem from *ainu*.[1] . . .

In sum, the Ainu are undoubtedly "Japanese" in terms of international law. But the term "Ainu Japanese" more accurately locates the Ainu among the Japanese. Similarly, among Americans (or, more precisely, citizens of the United States), there are "Japanese Americans," "French Americans," "Jewish Americans," and so forth. . . . To distinguish mainlanders from the Ainu Japanese, we can use the phrases "Shisam Japanese," "mainland Japanese," or "Yamato Japanese." Since the word "Yamato," in a narrow sense, has the flavor of the dynasty of conquest whose center was around Nara, those from outside the Nara area may feel uncomfortable with its use. I would like to use "Shisam" to denote mainland Japanese as distinct from the Ainu.

Source: Excerpted from Honda Katsuichi, *Harukor: An Ainu Woman's Tale*, Kyoko Selden, trans. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993, serialized in Asahi Shimbun in 1982), pp. 10-15, 33-38. © 1993 by Honda Katsuichi. Used by permission.

[1] Koshamain (d. 1457) led the anti-Japanese rebellion of 1456-57. Shakushain (d. 1669) led the 1669 uprising.

Document 2: The Hokkaido Former Natives Protection Act (Law No. 27, 1 March 1899)

This document, the "Hokkaido Former Natives Protection Act" of 1899 is basic to understanding the status of the Ainu people (referred to here as "Former Natives") in the postwar years.

Article 1
Those Former Natives of Hokkaido who are engaged, or wish to engage, in agriculture shall be granted free of charge no more than 15,000 *tsubo* (3,954 sq. yards) of land per household.

Article 2
The land granted under the preceding Article is subject to the following conditions on rights of ownership.

1. It may not be transferred except by inheritance.
2. No rights of pledge, mortgage, lease or perpetual lease can be established.
3. No easement (servitude) can be established without the permission of the Governor of Hokkaido.
4. It cannot become the object of a lien or preferential right. The land granted in the preceding Article shall not be subject to land tax or local taxes until 30 years from the date of grant. Land already owned by Former Natives shall not be transferred except by inheritance, nor shall any of the real rights *(jus in rem)* referred to in paragraphs 1 to 3 be established upon it without the permission of the Governor of Hokkaido.

Article 3
Any part of the land granted under Article 1 shall be confiscated if it has not been cultivated after 15 years from the date of grant.

Article 4
Hokkaido Former Natives who are destitute will be provided with agricultural equipment and seeds.

Article 5
Hokkaido Former Natives who are injured or ill but cannot afford medical treatment shall be provided with medical treatment or expenses for medicine.

Article 6
Hokkaido Former Natives who are too injured, ill, disabled, senile or young to provide for themselves shall be granted welfare under existing legislation and if they should die at or during the period of assistance funeral expenses will be provided.

Source: "Hokkaido Former Natives Protection Act" (1899), in Richard Siddle, *Race, Resistance and the Ainu of Japan* (London: Routledge, 1996), Appendix 1, pp. 194-195. Used by permission.

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Article 7
Children of destitute Hokkaido Former Natives who are attending school will be provided with tuition fees.

Article 8
Expenses incurred under Articles 4 to 7 shall be appropriated from the proceeds of the communal funds of Hokkaido Former Natives, or if these are insufficient, from the National Treasury.

Article 9
An elementary school will be constructed with funds from the National Treasury in areas where there is a Former Native village.

Article 10
The Governor of Hokkaido will manage the communal funds of the Hokkaido Former Natives.

The Governor of Hokkaido, subject to the approval of the Home Minister, may dispose of the communal funds for the interests of the owners of the communal funds or may refuse to expend it if he deems necessary.

The communal funds managed by the Governor of Hokkaido shall be designated by the Governor of Hokkaido.

Article 11
The Governor of Hokkaido may issue police orders with regard to the protection of the Hokkaido Former Natives and may impose a fine of over 2 yen but no more than 25 yen or a period of imprisonment of over 11 days but no more than 25 days.

By-laws

Article 12
This Act will become effective from 1 April 1899.

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Document 3: New Law Concerning the Ainu People (Draft)

Adopted at the General Assembly of the Utari Kyokai, 27 May 1984

This law, proposed in 1984, gives the reader some insight into the legal status of the Ainu in the postwar period.

Preamble

The objectives of this legislation are to recognise the existence of the Ainu people with their own distinct culture in the state of Japan; for their ethnic pride to be respected under the Constitution of Japan; and for their ethnic rights to be guaranteed.

Reasons for This Legislation

The Ainu people are a group with a unique history, possessing a distinct language and culture and maintaining a common economic lifestyle in Ainu Moshiri (the land where Ainu live)—Hokkai-do, Karafuto, and the Kurile Islands. The Ainu have held fast to their ethnic independence while struggling against the inhumane invasion and oppression of the Tokugawa Shogunate and the Matsumae Domain.

The Japanese government, having taken the first step to becoming a modern state with the Meiji Restoration, unilaterally incorporated Ainu Moshiri into state territory as ownerless land without any negotiation with the indigenous Ainu. Furthermore, the government concluded the Sakhalin-Kurile Exchange Treaty with Imperial Russia and forced the Ainu in Karafuto and the Northern Kuriles to leave their homelands where they lived in peace.

The Ainu were robbed of their land, forests and seas. Taking deer or salmon became poaching and collecting firewood was deemed theft. On the other hand, Wajin [Yamato people, a name that refers broadly to the country of Japan or things Japanese] immigrants flooded into the land, destructive development began, and the very survival of the Ainu people was threatened.

The dignity of the Ainu people was trampled underfoot by a policy of assimilation based on discrimination and prejudice. The Ainu were confined to granted lands, and their freedom to move or pursue an occupation other than agriculture was restricted, while their distinct language was stolen from them through education.

The postwar agrarian reform extended to the so-called Former Native allotments, and the trend in agricultural modernization scattered the poor small-scale Ainu farmers, destroying the *Kotan* [villages] one by one.

Several tens of thousand Ainu are now said to live in Hokkaido, with several thousand more outside Hokkaido. Most of them are not guaranteed equal opportunities for employment due to unfair racial prejudice and discrimination. Excluded from the modern corporate sector, the Ainu form a group of the disguised unemployed and their lifestyle is usually insecure. Discrimination increases poverty, while poverty engenders further discrimination. The present sees widening gaps in such areas as living conditions and educational advancement for children.

Source: "The New Law Concerning the Ainu People," in Richard Siddle, *Race, Resistance and the Ainu of Japan* (London: Routledge, 1996, Appendix 2), pp. 196-200. Used by permission.

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The so-called Hokkaido Utari Welfare Countermeasures that are presently being implemented are no more than a random collection of legislation and regulations. Not only do they lack coordination, but, above all, they obscure the responsibility of the state towards the Ainu people.

What is demanded here is the establishment of a thorough and comprehensive system predicated on the restoration of the ethnic rights of the Ainu, to eliminate racial discrimination, promote ethnic education and culture, and provide a policy for economic independence.

The issue of the Ainu people is a shameful historical legacy that arose during the process of establishing Japan as a modern state. It is also an important issue with implications for the guarantee of basic human rights under the Constitution. It is the responsibility of the government to resolve this situation. Recognising the problem as one concerning all citizens of Japan, the government must abolish the humiliating and discriminatory Hokkaido Former Natives Protection Act and enact new legislation for the Ainu people. This legislation must apply to all Ainu living in Japan.

Document 4: Organizations and Activities

These excerpts are from an essay "The Context of the Ainu's Crisis and Their Movements for Survival," by Utsugi Takashi. The essay describes Ainu living conditions, discrimination against the Ainu, and actions taken by Ainu organizations and activists.

There are some Ainu organizations. The largest political organization is the Hokkaido Utari Association. This organization promotes a number of activities including exchanges with other minority groups, international protest, and a campaign for the repeal of the Hokkaido Former Aborigines Protection Law and the enactment of the proposed New Law for the Ainu, and preservation of Ainu culture. Besides the Hokkaido Utari Association, there are smaller groups which focus their goals upon more particular aspects. . . .

These Ainu organizations have several major goals: gaining Ainu identity and pride; establishing public and international recognition; replacing the Former Aborigines Protection Law with the New Law for the Ainu; regaining their communal property; fighting against prejudiced academia; preserving and recovering traditional culture; and establishing cooperation with other minority groups in Japan and abroad. All these activities are closely related. For instance, legal suits against scholars gain publicity. Political demonstrations with other minorities support the enactment of the New Law for the Ainu. Regaining communal property is essential to preserving the traditional life-style of the Ainu and improving their economic conditions. Public and international recognition of the Ainu will increase the pressure on the Japanese government to change its Ainu policy.

Since the 1970's, a number of Ainu activists have emphasized the dignity of the Ainu and published declarations of Ainu identity and pride. For example, *Ainu Dokuritsu Sengen* (the Ainu Declaration of Independence), was published by Okamoto Naokazu in 1975, and *Ainu Sengen* was published by Yuki Shoji in 1980. In his book, Yuki stresses an Ainu tradition of "charanke" (debate, dispute, or discussion), and proposes formal talks between the Japanese and the Ainu. According to De Vos and others, this emergence of Ainu pride and resistance was "the biggest step forward" for Ainu emancipation.

Through the U.N. and other organizations, the Ainu have already established contacts with Australian aborigines, Canadian and American Indians, and other indigenous peoples. . . .

Meanwhile, the Hokkaido Aborigines Protection Law passed in 1899 is still in effect, and stands as an obstacle for the Ainu. In place of this discriminatory law, the Hokkaido Utari Association proposed the New Law for Ainu. The new law for the Ainu is intended to protect the Ainu's basic human rights, the right to participation, the right to teach Ainu cultures and languages, and the right to economic activities. Even though the Hokkaido Utari Association is working on the enactment of the New Law for the Ainu, the government is reluctant to consider it. Instead, the Japanese politicians are discussing only superficial changes in the Hokkaido Former Aborigines Protection law, such as replacing the term "Former Aborigines" with "Ainu."

Source: Excerpted from Utsugi Takashi, "The Context of the Ainu's Crisis and Their Movements for Survival," in David Coates, ed., *Shattering the Myth of the Homogeneous Society: Minority Issues and Movements in Japan* (Berkeley, CA: Japan Pacific Resource Network, 1990), pp. 23-26. Used by permission.

Document 5: Lucky Is the One Who Dies First, by Kayano Shigeru

Kayano Shigeru, himself an Ainu, has striven to preserve his people's cultural heritage. Formerly curator of the Nibutani Ainu Culture Museum, he is an author of books on the Ainu people and their folktales. The picture and excerpt are from a memoir, Our Land Was a Forest, first published in 1980.

If I remember correctly, it was when I returned from mountain work in the fall of 1953 that the *tukipasuy* (ceremonial wine-offering chopstick) my father had treasured above all else was not in sight. The *tukipasuy* is a revered object, believed to ensure that our supplications are heard by the gods if, prior to prayer, it is soaked in wine. That such an important utensil was missing. . .

I had already noticed that whenever I came home from several months of work, one folk utensil after another used by the fireside seemed to have disappeared. And now it was the *tukipasuy* my father valued so highly.

This was eight years after Japan's defeat in the war. I had built a house and married, and it was no longer such a struggle to make ends meet. Perhaps because I was feeling more at ease, I began to see things around me I had not noticed before. Although I did not ask my father why the *tukipasuy* had gone, I resented him. . . .

Source: Kayano Shigeru, *Our Land Was A Forest: An Ainu Memoir*, Kyoko Selden and Lili Selden, trans. (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1980, 1994), pp. 97-109, 155. Used by permission of Kyoko and Lili Selden.

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In those days I despised scholars of Ainu culture from the bottom of my heart. They used to visit my father for his extensive knowledge of the Ainu. I often railed at them and, accusing them of behavior as rude as that of waking a sleeping child, ordered them never to return. Professor K. of Hokkaido University was one at whom I snarled many times. Those who sought out my father therefore learned to confirm with the neighbors that his son Shigeru was away before they came over.

There were a number of reasons I hated them. Each time they came to Nibutani, they left with folk utensils. They dug up our sacred tombs and carried away ancestral bones. Under the pretext of research, they took blood from villagers and, in order to examine how hairy we were, rolled up our sleeves, then lowered our collars to check our backs, and so on.

My mother once staggered home after I don't know how much blood had been taken. I felt that no one should go if that was how we were treated, but the village leaders rounded up people with this argument and that. And the Ainu were also compensated a certain amount.

There was also portrait photography. People not only were photographed from the front, the side, and an assortment of angles but induced to wear large number plates such as criminals wear in mug shots. Among the photographs of my mother is one in which a number plate hangs from her neck. After having her blood taken, her back checked, and being photographed while wearing this label, how much money did she receive, I wonder? My mother's pained expression in the photo always stings me to the quick.

Seeing such self-centered conduct by *shamo* [Japanese] scholars, I asked myself whether matters should be left as they were: Our land, Ainu Mosir, had been invaded, our language stripped, our ancestral remains robbed, the blood of living Ainu taken, and even our few remaining utensils carried away. At this rate, what would happen to the Ainu people? What would happen to Ainu culture? From that moment on, I vowed to take them back. Once I promised myself this, I believe my personality changed. . . .

Around the fall of 1953, as I was collecting Ainu folk pieces, I felt I had to reevaluate Ainu culture as a whole. Gradually opening the heart I had shut tight against scholars of Ainu culture, I began to cooperate in their work.

I think it was about that time that Nitani Kunimatsu (Ainu name Nisukrekkur, born 1888), Nitani Taro (Uparette, born 1892), and my father Kaizawa Seitaro (Arekaynu, born 1893) gathered for a conversation. They were the last three Nibutani residents who spoke fluent Ainu. As they agreed, "The first among us to die is the luckiest. The remaining two will perform *iyoitakkote* [guiding the passage to the other world] in Ainu, according to traditional ritual, so he will be certain to return to the realm of the gods. Whoever dies first is the lucky one."

"Whoever dies first is the lucky one"—I repeated it again and again in my heart. I was saddened by their words. Their import cannot possibly be grasped by those who have not been robbed of the very roots of their culture and language. . . .

Document 6: The Romance of the Bear God

"The Romance of the Bear God" is one of several Ainu folktales included in a book of the same title by Kayano Shigeru. The storyteller is Nishijima Teru, who, like Kayano, is Ainu and a native of Hokkaido, Japan's northernmost island. Since the Ainu language is not a written one, tales such as this one are part of the Ainu oral tradition.

. . . I shyly looked around and saw a young couple's bed. After a little while, the man of the house turned toward the bed and said, "My son, get up and have a talk with this young man." A young man, who seemed a little older than I, rose from the bed. He was a healthy young man but his face revealed the pain of some deep suffering. I greeted him and together we shared dinner. Throughout the meal he made no attempt at conversation, answering me only when a reply was necessary. Finally he went back to bed.

Later, while I was talking with the man of the house, a warm comfortable place was made for me to sleep and we all went to bed.

I lay wide awake for no reason and could not get to sleep. Moreover, I again felt the urge to take off along the river. Without knowing what I wanted to do or where I wanted to go, all through the night I kept thinking that I should go along the river. As the sky became lighter, I got dressed and headed upstream with my quiver on my back and a bow in my hands. I ran faster and faster as if someone were pulling me forward. . . .

There stood a small house at the end of the broad clearing. I stopped running and carefully walked toward the house, examining the surroundings as I went. I noticed footprints around the well telling me that someone was living there. Not only that, tracks of a big dog had been left in the new snow which had fallen the night before. But I could not hear a dog at all.

As I went near the house, I saw a small child, who was just learning to walk, go inside. It was a nice snug house with tightly woven thatched walls and a perfectly smooth roof.

Wondering why it was so quiet, I stood at the entrance of the house and cleared my throat to announce my presence. There was no answer. So I stepped inside quietly and saw a woman sobbing sadly in the seat at the right side of the house, and with her was the child I had seen earlier. I seated myself across from her and greeted her politely.

The woman brushed her hair aside and looked up. She was as beautiful as a goddess and was a lot more charming than any woman in my village. She looked at me with tears in her eyes.

I asked, "Why are you living with your child in such a remote place? I know people live away from others to avoid hunger or war, but what sent you so far away?"

She continued crying for a while but finally parted her lips to speak. "I grew up in an ordinary family at the middle reaches of the Ishikari River. The only son of a rich family proposed to me and we got married. My parents-in-law were very good to me and so was my

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Excerpted from Kayano Shigeru, *The Romance of the Bear God: Ainu Folktales* (Tokyo: Taishukan, 1985), pp. 76-86. © Kayano Shigeru 1985, published by Taishukan Publishing Co., Ltd. Used by permission.

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husband. He was such a good hunter that he brought many bears and deer home, so I lived a contented and happy life. And we were expecting a baby."

"It was my chore to gather firewood. One day my father-in-law told me that I should find another spot for collecting firewood. So he took me to the forest while my husband was out and brought me to this house. He told me that this was the house for me to rest in when I came to gather firewood. And I believed him. Then he told me to start a fire and left for a walk. I waited and waited but he did not come back. I went out to look for him, calling his name over and over, but I couldn't find any trace of him. Besides that, I found that I could not go back home because I didn't remember the way. I had to come back and settle in this house. Here I had my son," said the woman holding the child in her arms and shedding tears like a waterfall.

"Another fearful thing is that every night a bear comes to our house. It howls fiercely, shaking the mountains all around. I have to sit still holding my son tight in my arms, shivering in the corner of the house. Then a dog always comes out from nowhere and chases the bear away. It is so dreadful when I have to listen to the howling and barking and roaring of the bear and the dog. Every night I feel like I am waiting for the moment of death."

"I have two brothers at home and my elder brother carved me a small wolf of wood. I played with it when I was little. When I got married, my brother told me that I should wear it all the time. So I always wear it to protect myself from danger. One day, while the dog was fighting with the bear outside, I noticed that the carved trinket was gone, and that it came back to me when the roaring of the bear and the dog had ceased. Thus, you can see that this really protects me. I have waited day and night hoping that someone would come to rescue us. How in the world did you come here?" said the woman, sobbing even more.

I was shocked to hear her story and my heart was full of pity. Then I realized that she had come from the house I had visited the night before. It was too late in the day to take the woman and her child back to their home, as I didn't know the way well enough to make a safe trip back in the dark. I decided we should stay overnight. . . .

When the pounding of his [the bear's] feet came close to the house, a dog dashed out from nowhere and lunged in attack. After a little while, the howling and barking of the two animals became more distant.

I waited till dawn and went off carrying my bow and arrows to follow their tracks. There was fresh blood and pieces of flesh scattered around on the new snow, evidence of the furious fight. I tiptoed toward the bear and the dog and peeked at them from behind a tree. They were tangled in each other's fur, fighting and snarling.

The dog's mouth gaped wide open from ear to ear. The fangs of its lower jaw extended beyond the upper lip and its upper fangs had grown down below the lower lip. Its tail was as long as the arm span of a man, and its fur was tattered from the nightly battles. However, the fur of the great bear, who seemed still young, was quite shiny and healthy. When the dog seized the bear by the neck and shook it, the bear bit back. As soon as they both noticed that I was watching them, the dog suddenly stepped aside and disappeared. So did the bear.

I followed the bear's tracks and found it beneath some fallen trees. . . . I crept up to where it lay and, taking an arrow, shot it to death. The arrow went deep into the bear; the feathers of the arrow trembled for a while, then stopped.

I took a breath and went closer to the bear to brush the leaves from its body. Then I made an altar[1] to keep the Bear God company and, placing it nearby, I left for where the woman was waiting. . . .

Right after breakfast, as I needed someone strong with me to carry the bear, I put the child on my back and started off for the village with the woman to get help. We arrived there late in the afternoon when the sun was setting in the west.

As we approached the village, the woman took off running toward home and dashed into the house. Her husband and his parents were crying with joy when I walked in with the child. They all came to me and looked overjoyed to see the boy. All the villagers rejoiced and gathered to welcome them.

I told the people that I had killed the bear and left it behind and explained that the father was not to be blamed for what had happened.

I took all the people to where the bear lay dead. We skinned it and I carried the bear myself on my back. We held an auspicious god-sending ceremony for the bear and prayed that the gods would not punish the Bear God for what he had done.

That night I had another dream. The young Bear God, who had his hair groomed short and neatly, appeared and said happily, "Are you really a human? Or are you a god? The gods have listened to what you told them and have decided. They forgive me and make you the richest man in the land."

I stayed in the village for a while but I thought that my family might be worried about me being away from home so long. So I set off for home promising that I would come back again. I got in my dugout and, catching some salmon on the way, paddled back home.

Nearly home at last, I could hear my father calling out the names of the gods asking for the safe return of his son. When he saw me, he said, "My foolish son, you left for fishing and did not return for the longest time. We all worried about you. But we are all glad that you are back safely."

I told my father what had happened in great detail. Then he praised me for my courageous action.

Since then, we always invite people at the midstream of the Ishikari River to join us when we make *tonoto* [liquor made from wild millet]. And they invite us for *tonoto* in return. Neither my father nor I have a brother but from now on we will be able to live happily like brothers with the people of the mid-Ishikari for the rest of our days.

(Storyteller: Teru Nishijima)

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[1] Editor's note: A companion altar—an altar was made for a hunted bear to keep it company when it had to be left in the mountains overnight. A piece of wood about three centimeters in diameter and seventy centimeters in length was cut and nine small feather-like wood shavings were inserted at three different levels.

Document 7: Ainu Women Speak

The quotations below are from unidentified Ainu women interviewed about their customs. The first speaks of burial customs, the second of prejudice experienced by the Ainu.

"Unfailingly, formerly, the house and utensils of a married woman who 'died before her time' were burned to the ground at her death. The house was hers. She came to it as a bride, and she was considered to be the bride of that house. The spirit of it and of everything in it followed her spirit into that other world once the house had been burnt.

"Since Japanese law now forbids burning the house, one large enough for two or three people to sit in it is constructed. The persons drink and eat in it and tell the spirit of the house to follow the spirit of the woman they have just buried. This done, the miniature house is set on fire. There is an unshaken belief among the older Ainu that a deceased woman must be in possession of the spirit of her house, so she can welcome her husband to it after his death. It also gives her a place to live while she waits for him."

* * *

"For example, I have an Ainu name. My grandmother gave it to me when I was a baby, following an Ainu custom. When my children were born, we followed the Ainu custom and gave each an Ainu name. Japanese children knew from those names that my children were Ainu, and would designate them scornfully as Ainu. Discrimination against the Ainu by the Japanese was deep seated."

Source of first quotation: Jessie Ackermann, "The Ainu," in T. Athol Joyce and N.W. Thomas, *Women of All Nations* (London: Cassell and Company, Ltd., 1909), p. 518.
Source of second quotation: M. Inez Hilger, *Together with the Ainu: A Vanishing People* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971), pp. 198-199.

Document 1: Special Features of the Buraku Issue

Noguchi Michihiko writes of the special features of the Buraku issue in an excerpt from his essay "Discrimination and the Buraku." Here he describes the two strategies used by members of the Buraku community to improve their status. One is to announce one's Burakumin identity, and the other is to denounce efforts by outsiders to expose anyone's Burakumin identity.

An important feature of most minority issues in Japan is that of invisibility. One cannot watch passersby on the street and identify any particular individual as being a Burakumin. One cannot spot members of the Korean minority by outward appearances. The same is true for Okinawans. In the United States one can easily identify Blacks, Asians, Hispanics, and Caucasians. The lack of ready identification of minorities in Japan means that discrimination appears in some different forms than in the United States. One of the most characteristic forms of discrimination in Japan involves the exposure of an individual's Buraku status. In the course of daily conversation, someone might raise four fingers on one hand and ask, "Do you think he might be one of *them*?" The four fingers are a traditional euphemism for Burakumin. The use of this euphemism implies three things:

1. To even speak aloud of someone's Buraku status is to risk defilement.
2. Such a person is to be despised.
3. The use and understanding of the euphemism itself is an affirmation of solidarity and belonging in the social majority.

Therefore, raising four fingers on one hand means much more than just the identification of Burakumin. Many Burakumin have experienced the shock of seeing friends and colleagues use this expression and realizing the persons they trusted actually harbor prejudiced attitudes toward the Buraku.

A State of Ambivalence

Due to the invisibility of the Buraku, the liberation movement has pushed forward its struggle in two directions that, at first glance, might seem contradictory. One, which we call Strategy A, is to openly declare one's identity and pride as a Burakumin. The other, Strategy B, is to thoroughly denounce any efforts by outside parties to investigate and expose anyone's Buraku status. These two courses of action, though seemingly contradictory, actually interact to create a more effective movement.

Strategy A - Burakumin Pride

. . . [T]he Buraku liberation movement believes that instead of letting sleeping dogs lie, the correct strategy for eliminating discrimination is to actively raise the Buraku issue and stop concealing their Buraku status as individuals and communities. This approach is much the same as the Black liberation movement's assertion that "Black is beautiful."

Source: Noguchi Michihiko, "Discrimination and the Buraku," in David Coates, ed., *Shattering the Myth of the Homogeneous Society: Minority Issues and Movements in Japan* (Berkeley: Japan Pacific Resource Network, 1990), pp. 5-11. Used by permission.

Strategy B - Opposition to Background Investigations

The routine investigation of persons' family, residential or occupational backgrounds is one of the most common manifestations of discrimination against the Buraku. The liberation movement has fought against this form of discrimination on all fronts. It should be emphasized that Burakumin are neither a distinct race nor an ethnic group. They represent a status group. Burakumin are not identifiable by any physical characteristics. Culturally they display no traits fundamentally different from Japanese society as a whole. They are not set apart by religious convictions, either. . . . There are certain occupations that were traditionally the preserve of the Buraku. These include slaughtering and butchering, leather products, shoes and other footwear. These trades, however, have been engaged in by only a small minority of the total Buraku population, so Burakumin cannot be said to be identifiable by occupation. The one major factor that sets the Burakumin apart from their fellow Japanese is the fact that their ancestors were relegated to pariah status under Japan's feudal hierarchy. . . .

. . . [E]mployers who are loath to hire Burakumin, and families wishing to avoid intermarriage have found several ways to investigate whether an individual is from a Buraku background. . . . One common practice in hiring and marriage is to request a copy of the *koseki* or family register. . . . The National Koseki compiled in 1872 lists the previous status of all households under the feudal hierarchy. It clearly shows the status of Buraku households and their descen-dants. Until recently, anyone could gain access to this information. The Buraku liberation move-ment has strongly opposed public access to *koseki* records on the grounds that it encourages discrimination. . . .

Resumes provide another way to check up on an individual's background. Until recently, the general-use resume forms sold in Japan were highly detailed, asking information about a family's registered place of residence, the registered head of the family, the applicant's current address and length of residence, all previous achievements, and police record, if any. Application forms provided by employees were also very detailed, asking applicants to disclose their parents' occupations, their parents' position in their work places, whether they rented or owned their homes and if they owned any farm land. . . .

A third way to look into an individual's background is to engage the services of a private detective agency or a *koshinjo*, a type of agency devoted to discreet investigation of job applicants and marriage prospects. As stated before, it is never easy to distinguish Buraku from non-Buraku. When other methods fail, such specialists can be called in. . . .

Who Is a Burakumin? Identity and Self-Determination

As outlined above, the strategy of opposing the practice of probing family backgrounds has been applied to a number of issues and struggles. One important feature shared by Strategy A and Strategy B is that they are both necessitated by the invisibility of the Burakumin. Due to this invisibility, discrimination manifests itself in very different ways than in the United States, where physical, cultural and linguistic features make minorities highly visible. The struggle against discrimination in Japan consequently takes different forms as well.

. . . Strategy A is intended to strengthen the Burakumin's self-determination in the struggle against discrimination. Strategy B seeks to confront those who practice discrimination. The Buraku Liberation League, as a mass movement supported by the largest number of Burakumin, conducts its struggle along these dual lines of strategy. . . .

Document 2: A Call to Action

The following 1922 document illustrates several themes that have dominated Burakumin political thought throughout the 20th century.

Burakumin throughout the country unite!

Long suffering brothers:

In the past half century, reform undertakings on our behalf by many people in various ways have not yielded any appreciable results. This should be taken as divine punishment for permitting others as well as ourselves to debase our human dignity. Previous movements, though seemingly motivated by compassion, actually degraded many of our brothers. Therefore, it is necessary for us to organize a new collective movement through which we shall liberate ourselves by our own effort and self-respect.

Brothers—our ancestors pursued liberty and equality, and practiced these principles. But they became the victims of a contemptible system developed by a despicable ruling class. They became the manly martyrs of industry. In recompense for their work in skinning animals, they were skinned alive. For tearing out the animals' hearts, their own warm hearts were ripped out. They were spat at with ridicule. Yet all through these cursed nights of evil dreams, their human blood has kept on flowing. We, who have been born of this blood, are trying to become divine. The time has come when the oppressed shall throw off the brand of martyrdom. The martyr's crown of thorns shall receive blessing.

We, who know how cruel and cold it is to be discriminated against, must not use disrespectful words and cowardly behavior to retaliate against ordinary human beings. To do so would be to discredit our ancestors who died for freedom and to desecrate humanity. Therefore, we should work passionately for human rights and seek the light of true humanity.

Let there be warmth in the hearts of people, and let there be light upon all mankind. From this, the Levelers Association is born.

Source: Frank K. Upham, *Law and Social Change in Postwar Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), p. 103. Used by permission of the Buraku Liberation and Human Rights Research Institute, Osaka.

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Document 3: Nakagami, the Pariah of Shingu

Nakagami Kenji was an award-winning Japanese author who died in 1992. In this 1989 interview with Liberation, *he speaks of his Burakumin background.*

"I write for a public that cannot read me. My mother, my sister, my brothers are illiterate like all the Burakumin." Kenji Nakagami was born in 1946 in the ghetto of Shingu, one of the Burakus who form the pariahs of Japanese society. The subject is taboo in Japan. Nakagami is one of the few to tackle it openly.

An enfant terrible of Japanese letters, he defines himself as a "child of shame." Jazz buff, militant of the extreme left, baggage handler at Tokyo Airport, he presents an image unclassifiable as that of a writer—the more disturbing the more he proclaims his status as a pariah. All his books evoke the life of a Burakumin . . .

Liberation: The existence of the Burakumin is practically never touched on in Japan. Nevertheless, you are forced to be the only one to proclaim yourself as such?

Nakagami: Among writers I am the only one to say it. In Japan, there is a tendency never to say things openly. One always dilutes truths with floods of politeness. When one offers a gift, one says "take this horrible thing." When one speaks of one's family, one says "my idiot of a son." I am a Burakumin, I am like a child of shame. There have been other writers in my position, but they never avowed their origins. . . .

Liberation: How did you become a writer, in these conditions?

Nakagami: I became a writer when I learned of my different condition, on leaving my ghetto. I could learn to read and write after the war, because at that time the Americans had instituted compulsory education for all in Japan. My mother forbade me to read, saying it would drive me mad. When I recall this education, it was almost a luxury for a writer. Japanese literature, in its origins, was narrative and founded on oral tradition. The No, the Kabuki came from there, that tradition in which I was bathed.

Liberation: Did your condition pose problems of integration into literary milieux?

Nakagami: The literary milieux try hard to comprehend the problem of the Burakumin. The difficulties I met were more of a personal kind. When someone presents me to the outside world as a writer representative of Japan, it's difficult to take that on. Japan wants to show foreigners beautiful things like the No and the Kabuki while forgetting that all that comes from the Baruku. Japan has appropriated them without making their origins clear, just like the tradition of the Ainus or that of Okinawa. I sometimes have a feeling of being used.

Liberation: Hasn't the situation evolved since the war?

Source: Gerard Meudal, "Nakagami, the Pariah of Shingu," *Liberation* (14 Dec. 1989). © *Liberation*. Used by permission of *Liberation* and Jack Campin, translator.

Nakagami: The discrimination is just as strong, notably at the times of marriage and getting a job. An example: In the great Japanese combines [large private industrial, commercial, financial, and agricultural concerns] there is not one Burakumin, because directories exist that list the names of all the Buraku in Japan, and these permit their elimination. The existence of these directories was not revealed until 12 years ago. After the scandal it was decided to stop the practice. But only three months ago it was discovered that these Baruku directories had been computerized.

Liberation: A Japanese critic, Yomota Inuhiko, while remarking that your literary debut coincided with the suicide of Mishima, wrote that your work seemed "to develop in its own way a problematic inherited directly from Mishima."

Nakagami: I don't feel influenced by Mishima, though I have a feeling of intimacy with him and I very much like his writing. . . . As writers, there is nothing in common between us beyond a certain interest in the emperor. He felt admiration for him, I a numb fear. I am the mirror image of Mishima, as on a playing card.

Liberation: Are there any writers who have influenced you?

Nakagami: Faulkner, Genet, and Celine were shocks to me. Faulkner and Genet above all were revolutionary writers. Genet introduced marginality into literature and Faulkner introduced the Third World, the South. Among Japanese writers, my model is Tanizaki. But I'm not worried. If I reach his age, I hope to reach his level and pass it. It's true that he died very old; that leaves me a bit of a margin.

Document 4: "Having Excrement Thrown over Me," by Sakai Kenkichi

The following article was written by a member of the Burakumin community for the Buraku Liberation News.

Since I was around seven or eight years old, I realized there had been discrimination against my Buraku. So I then thought of running away from it as soon as possible. I entered the higher course of the High Elementary School but dropped out after only two months. Turning to my aunt in Nishinari area of Osaka for support, I got out of the village. I was thirteen at the time.

I worked for a shoemaker. But I was fired for something. While I was loafing around, I got to know a schoolgirl from Tesukayama Jogakuen High School. She was the daughter of a lumber dealer. When her parents found out she was pregnant, they got their servants to track down my lodgings. They took me behind the lumber dealer's house, violently beat and kicked me, and even threw excrement over me. Their final blow was to say, "Do you know where you come from? Stick to being an Eta and don't lay a hand on the daughter! Even if we kill you, we won't be guilty of any crime."

At the time I felt that what they said was right. "Since I am one of those human beings called 'Eta' whom people discriminate against," I thought, "Whatever they do to me, I am not even 'qualified' to complain." When I was small, I was often teased with words like this: "Touch your ass! There's a tail there!" I thought it was true and actually touched by behind. I came across my coccyx. I didn't know that everybody had one and thought that only Burakumin possessed it. So I got it into my head that we were after all a different kind of human being.

This flashed through my mind and I never considered confronting my persecutors. After being thrown outside, I was walking along just as I was, covered with excrement, when a policeman asked, "What happened?" I told him my story. "It's unpardonable," he exclaimed. "I'll go and make them apologize to you. Wait outside the house." He then went into the lumber dealer's place. However, several minutes later, it was my turn to be severely scolded: "Hey! You deceived the girl. You are worse than them."

After washing my body at a tap, I took the train to Shinodayama Station. I drifted around in utter misery and was about to kill myself by diving under a train. But a gateman at a railroad crossing noticed what I was trying to do and held me back. When I got back home, my mother said, "Wherever you go, you're in an impossible situation (i.e., you can't escape discrimination). Stay here and just do as I say." "You're the one who's to blame," I shot back. "You gave birth to me. If I had been born in a different family, I wouldn't have to go through all this." My sister remembers our exchange even now and says, "How could you say such things?" But it was true enough that I did feel bitter about my own mother. Only now can I imagine how my mother must have suffered after hearing those words from her own son's mouth. I am now sixty-one. But that episode of long ago comes to mind just as if it were something that happened yesterday.

Source: Sakai Kenkichi, "Having Excrement Thrown over Me," *Buraku Liberation News* (November 1986). Used by permission of the Buraku Liberation Research Institute.

Document 5: The River with No Bridge

The River with No Bridge *is a work of fiction written in six volumes between 1961 and 1973. Although its Japanese author, Sumii Sue, was not herself Burakumin, she grew up in a Burakumin community and witnessed the events she describes in the excerpts below.*

The children at Sakata Primary School had also finished lunch and were now gathering round Senkichi Sayama in the playground. He was the center of attention because of the "magic glasses" hanging round his neck. A few children had already been allowed to peer through them and, in high spirits, were loudly boasting:

"I could see all the trees and paths on Miminashi Hill as if they were right next to the school. They're a soldier's binoculars. But only the top soldiers have binoculars like that. And I had a look through them!" . . .

The children formed a long line behind Senkichi and, rather hesitantly, Koji joined the end. He noticed Seitaro standing some distance away from them. "Maybe Seitaro doesn't want to look through the magic glasses," he thought, feeling sorry that his brother would miss such a treat.

The binoculars passed from child to child down the line under the supervision of Senkichi's best friend, Shigeo Iwase. The children were still in a state of excitement over the Maneuvers and, led by Senkichi, they started to chatter about rifles and machine guns, scouts and buglers, and eventually the soldiers who should have been quartered with them, at which point the talk grew even more animated.

"Four soldiers were meant to stay with us and we'd got all new mattresses and pillows made. Then we felt like idiots when it suddenly turned out they weren't coming."

"They said five soldiers were coming to stay at our place, and then they said they couldn't 'cause they were losing the battle, and they all went away."

"Some officers were quartered with us and so we'd bought heaps of fish and beef, and a great barrel of sake. But there's no time to eat when you're losing a battle, and now we've got to finish it all by ourselves. We'll be stuffing ourselves forever!"

"Ha, ha! It's no good being on the losing side."

"It's bad enough in the Maneuvers, but it's even worse in a real war."

"Only the Russians and Chinese lose in a real war."

They all laughed again.

Source: Excerpted from Sumii Sue, *The River with No Bridge* (Boston and Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle, 1989), pp. 29-36. Used by permission.

But Seitaro, who was still standing apart from the rest, neither spoke nor laughed. He was not alone in being silent; none of the children from Komori had anything to say because none of the soldiers had been quartered with their families.

Senkichi Sayama caught sight of Seitaro. "It's all right for Sei and the others from Komori, isn't it? They've got nothing to worry about. They couldn't care less if the soldiers lost and went away because there was never any chance of them staying with them."

"That's right."

It was not Seitaro who answered back but Shigemi Nagai, one of Tosaku Nagai's daughters and Natsu's younger sister. At school, she was known as "Hachimero"; which could mean a tomboy, or, more harshly, a hussy.

Shigemi paused and looked around quickly at her Komori friends before continuing, "We couldn't put them up in Komori because we're all poor. We don't have any spare mattresses and we can't afford to buy nice things to eat. But Sei's family steamed some sweet potatoes for the soldiers camping on the river bank. Your lot didn't give them anything to eat, did you, even though they were meant to stay with you. We did a lot more for them in Komori."

"What! Sweet potatoes!" shrieked Senkichi, and all the others collapsed with laughter.

Seitaro felt as if he had been knocked over. "They're all laughing at me," he thought. "They're laughing at me because I'm poor. 'We bought heaps of saké and fish but you only had sweet potatoes—' that's what they're saying. The soldiers were pleased with them though. They even patted Koji and me on the head."

Wanting to explain this to the other children, he mustered up courage and spoke quickly:

"The soldiers camping out enjoyed having some nice hot potatoes on such a cold night."

"Those soldiers are from the Nagoya division," said Senkichi, speaking with deliberate slowness. "They don't know these parts. D'you think they'd have eaten the potatoes if they'd known you're from Komori? On top of losing the battle, the poor things ended up eating *eta* potatoes! Stinking *eta* potatoes!" and he held his nose, pretending to vomit.

It was Toyota Matsuzaki's turn to have the binoculars. "I don't want a look," he said, pushing the binoculars away and stepping out of the line.

"Well, why bother to wait your turn then?" Shigeo's tone of voice and stance clearly showed his annoyance at Toyota's rebuff.

"We don't have to lend them to anybody who doesn't want a look," snapped Senkichi, glaring at Toyota.

"I don't know what he's got to be so stuck up about. What's so special about a pair of old field glasses?" Toyota gripped Seitaro's shoulder. "Come on, Sei, let's go."

"Ha, ha! Look, one's an *eta* and the other's a bastard. Just right for each other, they both stink!"

Senkichi was suddenly punched in the chest, and the next moment a full-scale fight had broken out.

"Teacher, they're fighting! Teacher, they're fighting!"

"Teacher, teacher, the *eta* are making trouble!"

Word of the fight soon reached the staff room, upsetting the midday calm. . . .

Seitaro almost fell to his knees again and again, giving way under the weight of the buckets, but each time he caught sight of the Headmaster he braced himself once more. The Headmaster, who was in charge of the fifth grade, had handed down the punishment himself.

"You may not put the buckets down until you understand that you should not have hit Senkichi Sayama and until you show that you are truly sorry for what you have done," he repeated several times.

Even if it meant standing there all night, even if his arms were pulled out of their sockets, Seitaro was determined to go on holding the buckets, and he felt sure that Toyota was equally resolved. But the color was draining from Toyota's face, second by second, and he had almost reached the limits of his endurance.

As if he could not bear to stand back and watch, Mr. Egawa, the senior teacher, called out to them, "Don't be so obstinate both of you. Hurry up and apologize. After all, you shouldn't have hit Sayama."

"No, leave them. They obviously still think they are in the right. We must knock some sense into them."

However, no sooner had the Headmaster uttered these words than Mr. Egawa went over to the two boys. "Hatanaka." He put his hand on Seitaro's shoulder.

Seitaro felt tears welling up in his eyes. The touch of that hand brought happy memories of his first year at school flooding back: Mr. Egawa had been his teacher then and had often quietly placed his hand on Seitaro's head or shoulder.

"Put the buckets down."

The order was gently given and the two boys lowered their buckets. At once, a cold sensation shot through their shoulders, followed immediately by a tingling in their fingers; they had been delivered from humiliation and the blood was coursing through the veins of their arms once more.

"Apologize to the Headmaster." Mr. Egawa put his hand on Toyota's shoulder. "He has business to attend to and must be leaving now. Hurry up and apologize and then you can go home at once. Your mother's bound to be worried about you."

"But I haven't done anything wrong, sir." Toyota addressed his remark to the Headmaster rather than Mr. Egawa.

"What do you mean you've doing nothing wrong! Do you think it is all right to hurt Sayama?"

The Headmaster had just put on his hat but now he snatched it off and flung it down on the table. The three other teachers who were working in the staff room pretended not to be aware of what was going on.

"Sir, it was me who hit Sen," cried Seitaro so loudly he even startled himself. At the same time, Toyota unexpectedly picked up both the buckets again.

The Headmaster took this as a personal affront.

"Well, if that's the way you feel, you can stand there until the morning," he roared, sweeping out of the room.

"Put down those buckets and stop being so stubborn," said Mr. Egawa. "Now, it seems that when Sayama refused to show you his binoculars, you both got angry and hit him. If that's really what happened then you are both in the wrong, aren't you?"

"That's not how it was, sir, that's a lie. The Headmaster only believes Sen, but Sen said rude things about us."

"I see. Well, you'd better tell me all about it right from the beginning. The other teachers will listen as well. What started the fight?"

"Sweet potatoes."

The lady teacher sniggered discreetly but the other two, who were young men, laughed outright.

"Well, what happened?"

"He said they stank. They stank 'cause they were *eta* potatoes."

The teachers stopped working and looked at each other.

"Then you hit Sayama?" continued Mr. Egawa, after a moment's pause. His low voice sounded tense.

"Yes, that's right. Sen's always calling me an *eta*. Some of the others do, too. Sir, I hate being called that more than anything. And it's not something I can change, however hard I try. Please tell me what I can do about it, sir, please."

"Yes, I see. I understand only too well, now. And Matsuzaki, you got angry because your friend, Hatanaka, had been insulted."

"Yes," Toyota began, but then he closed his mouth: naturally he had hit Senkichi because of Seitaro but, even more, on his own account. He had been called a bastard; and that was not something he could help, any more than Seitaro could help being an *eta*. Nevertheless, he had been abused as if he were ugly; tormented as if he were evil; and when that happened all he could do was hit back. His grip on the buckets tightened.

"For goodness sake put them down. I understand everything and tomorrow I'll explain it all to the Headmaster."

Mr. Egawa wrenched the buckets from Toyota's hands and took them outside.

"Now hurry along home; it will soon be dark."

"Yes, sir."

Toyota and Seitaro both bowed and the three teachers all gave a slight nod back. Then they rushed to the school gates where they drew together for a moment. "Toyo," said Seitaro, "Sei," said Toyota; and they ran off in opposite directions. . . .

Document 6: Discrimination Against The Burakumin

In Peasants, Rebels, and Outcastes: The Underside of Modern Japan, *author Mikiso Hane explains some of the biases against Burakumin common during the postwar era in Japan.*

Old values, attitudes, and mores change gradually. In particular, ingrained biases and prejudices stubbornly linger on. This is seen most clearly in the bias that persists against the *burakumin*. While most people do not overly reveal this prejudice for fear that they will be the object of public castigation by *burakumin* activists, prejudicial remarks are often voiced when no *burakumin* are present. The persistence of this prejudice is most strikingly reflected in the continuing resistance non-*burakumin* children encounter from their parents when they want to marry *burakumin*. Discrimination in jobs has also persisted. Even the postwar land reform program failed to benefit rural *burakumin* very much: Those who had been farming fewer than 0.3 *cho*—90 percent of *burakumin*—were not regarded as full-fledged farmers and were not entitled to take part in the land redistribution program.

In 1971, as part of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Suiheisha, the Buraku Liberation League compiled a list of incidents involving discrimination or expressions of bias against *burakumin*. In Okayama prefecture alone, the League listed twenty-seven cases that called for redress. In 1960, a controversy ensued when employment officers of two major firms in Kyoto indicated that their companies had a policy of not hiring *burakumin* and Koreans. In this city, with its large population of *burakumin*, a survey indicated that larger firms were less inclined to hire *burakumin* than smaller shops and plants.

Spurred on by the reformist climate of the postwar years, *burakumin* leaders have stepped up their efforts to end discrimination. The movement was spearheaded by the Buraku Liberation League, which went about organizing chapters throughout the nation. In many instances, the organizers found that local *burakumin* were reluctant to join the reform movement. One mother pleaded, "Please don't disturb the sleeping children. I have had enough discrimination in my lifetime. My child has friends at school and has not experienced discrimination at all. Please don't stir things up." The organizer told her:

> I understand how you feel, but though you talk about sleeping children, there is not a single child in this prefecture [Nara] who is asleep. They are all awake. The other day when a survey of high-school students was taken, 95 percent of the students indicated that they knew about the existence of the *buraku*. They know, but they don't have an accurate understanding of the situation. When the children leave for school, their parents tell them, Don't play with those [*buraku*] children. They are dangerous and troublesome." That's what they think of the *buraku* people. . . . The only people who don't know about the *buraku* are those *buraku* children themselves whose parents conceal the truth from them, hoping to protect them from the kind of anguish and pain they themselves experienced. But you must not look upon the *burakumin* problem as sombody else's problem. You know that a girl from this community committed suicide recently. Many people have committed suicide all over the country because of discrimination over marriages. Discrimination is a reality. You cannot try to cover up its existence by silence.

Source: From *Peasants, Rebels and Outcastes* by Mikiso Hane, copyright © 1982 by Mikiso Hane. Used by permission of Pantheon Books, a division of Random House, Inc.

The mother then admitted that her own son had been denied a job with a bank because he was a *burakumin*.

The Buraku Liberation League adopted a policy of dramatizing cases of discrimination to awaken consciousness among the *burakumin* as well as in the public at large. One of the most celebrated incidents involved United States troops stationed in Japan. In 1957, a U.S. soldier shot and killed a *burakumin* woman after he encouraged her to come on base to collect empty shells. (The base had been built on land formerly owned by *burakumin* villagers.) This incident, fanned by opposition to the presence of U.S. military bases in Japan, aroused anti-American passions among the *burakumin*.

The Sayama Affair, another incident that stirred up the *burakumin*'s bitterness, involved the kidnap-murder of a high-school girl in 1963. The police arrested a mentally handicapped *burakumin* youth and charged him with the crime. Critics charged that the accused was then tried and convicted on the basis of far-fetched, circumstantial evidence. The leaders of the Burakumin Liberation League saw this as a clear-cut case of bigotry in which the authorities, pressed for a speedy resolution of the case, picked on a *burakumin* youth. For almost two decades they contested the conviction and attempted, without success, to get the higher courts to overturn it.

Document 7: Distribution of the Number of Buraku

This 1985 chart shows the distribution of Burakumin in three of Japan's four main islands.

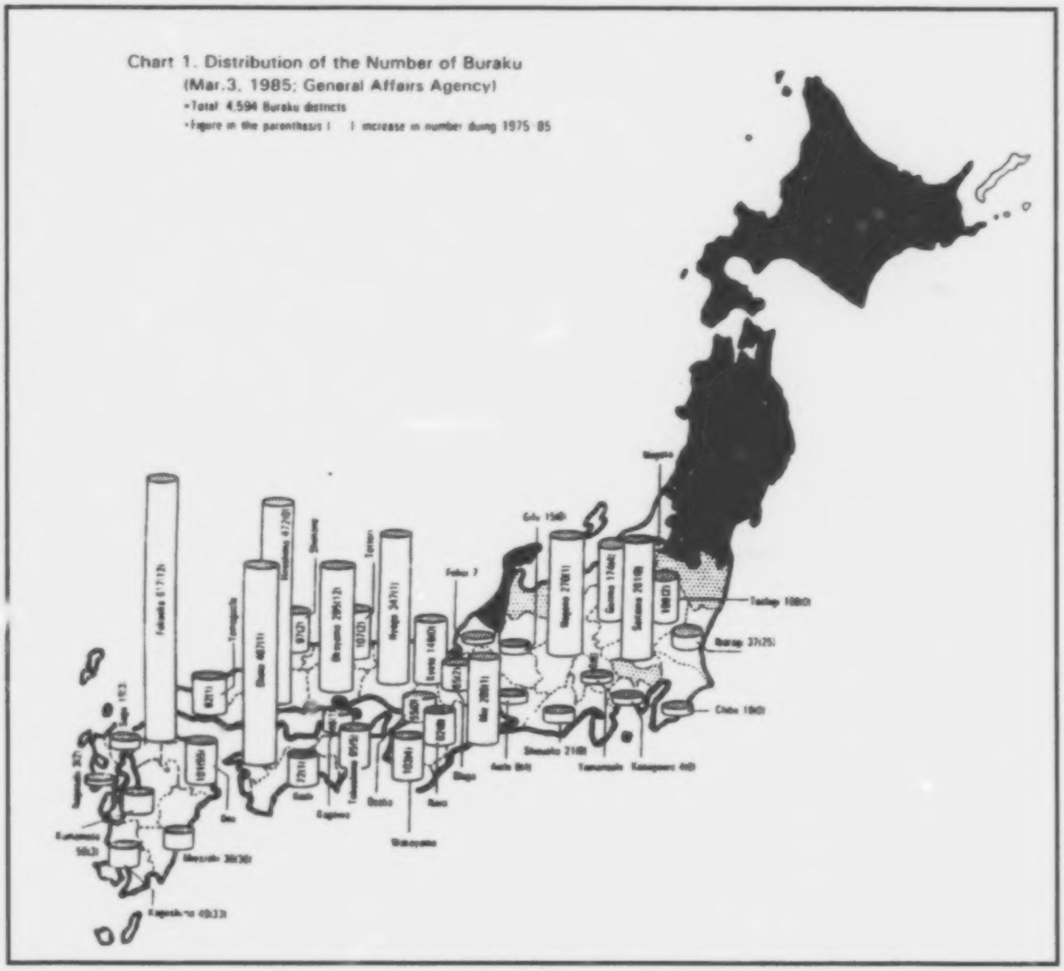
Chart 1. Distribution of the Number of Buraku
(Mar.3, 1985; General Affairs Agency)
•Total 4,594 Buraku districts
•Figure in the parenthesis ( ) increase in number during 1975-85
Fukuoka 617(12)
Yamaguchi
Hiroshima 472(0)
Shimane
Okayama 295(12)
Tottori
Hyogo 347(1)
Fukui 7
Gifu 15(0)
Niigata
Nagano 270(1)
Gunma 176(4)
Saitama 281(0)
Tochigi 10(0)
Ibaraki 37(25)
Chiba 19(0)
Shizuoka 21(0)
Yamanashi
Kanagawa 4(0)
Mie 200(1)
Shiga
Nara
Osaka
Wakayama
Kagawa
Tokushima
Kochi
Oita
Kumamoto 50(3)
Miyazaki 30(30)
Kagoshima 40(33)

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Source: *Discrimination Against Buraku, Today* (Osaka: Buraku Kaiho Kenkyusho, 1986). Used by permission of the Buraku Liberation and Human Rights Research Institute, Osaka.

Document 1: Koreans and Japanese—The Opening of the Takamatsuzuka Tomb

The following report of the opening of the Takamatsuzuka Tomb on Japan's main island, by George De Vos and Changsoo Lee, explains one of the reasons for the distance between Japanese and Koreans living in Japan.

A few years ago a singular event occurred at Takamatsuzuka, on the island of Honshu. An ancient burial site was inadvertently disturbed. The Japanese scientists who entered the burial chamber were astounded by the beautiful frescoes adorning the four walls with images reflecting the social life of a nobility wearing dress indistinguishable from that worn in the ancient states of the Korean peninsula. . . .

Whose tomb had been opened? . . . Were these members of an intrusive cavalier culture whose nobility became, for some time at least, the rulers of the land of Yamato? Or were they local nobility whose dress and tastes were at that time totally identical with their Korean counterparts? For many patriotically and pridefully "unique" Japanese, the event was somewhat embarrassing. It was another reminder that cumulative archaeological evidence suggests, as does linguistic evidence, some common origin for modern-day Koreans and Japanese.

This tomb and its contents did more than suggest simple borrowing by an indigenous Japanese imperial line. It gave weight to the contention that in prehistoric times a dynastic complexity had existed which included rulers from the outside—invaders from the [Korean] peninsula. It added archaeological weight to the assertion that the myth of an unbroken imperium of Japan must give way to increasingly weighty scientific evidence to the contrary. A negative emotional response to the suggestion of a common kinship between Koreans and Japanese, however, has hindered the objectivity of some scholars. A Korean connection from the earliest time of myth and legend is not conscionable to many Japanese.

Source: Changsoo Lee and George De Vos, *Koreans In Japan: Ethnic Conflict and Accommodation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), p. 3-4. Used by permission of the author.

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Document 2: A History of the Korean Minority in Japan

This brief history of the Korean minority in Japan is excerpted from an essay by Cho Chang Kuk, "Ethnic Identity and Political Movement: A History of the Korean Minority in Japan."

The existence of one million Koreans in Japan today[1] is a direct consequence of Japan's colonial expansion into the Korean Peninsula. In 1910 Japan "annexed" Korea as the culmination of her persistent imperialist advances toward Korea, which involved the Japan-Korea Treaty of Amity and Commerce of 1876, the Sino-Japanese War of 1884-85, and the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05. During the 36 years of colonial occupation that followed, the Koreans were subjected to severe economic exploitation, cultural deprivation and political oppression. Japan's colonial rule produced, not surprisingly, a mass exodus of Koreans, north to Manchuria and China and south to Japan. Japan, on its part, encouraged the immigration of these Koreans, especially as the war against China and the United States dragged on, for their value as a source of cheap labor. Toward the end of World War II Japan even resorted to forced importation and exploitation of 667,000 Korean laborers in order to alleviate a devastating labor shortage. Prior to the "annexation" in 1910, there were fewer than one thousand Koreans—mostly students—living in Japan. By the end of World War II, the number had increased to two million, one hundred thousand.

On August 15, 1945, with the defeat of Japan, came the liberation of Korea. Most of the Koreans living in Japan at the time left for Korea as soon as they and their country were liberated from Japanese oppression. By 1946, a year later, the number of Koreans in Japan decreased to about 650,000; and these became the basis of today's Korean minority in Japan.

These Koreans decided to stay a while longer because their homeland was now suffering from the harsh realities of the new north-south division. But the devastation of the homeland after many years of colonial exploitation and the subsequent outbreak of the Korean War cruelly eroded their hope of an early return. The stabilization of their businesses and personal lives in Japan, and the birth of children who did not know their motherland, also contributed to the further postponement of going home. Thus, in a nation which once colonized their motherland, and which still persistently discriminated against them, Koreans in Japan began their post-war history as an ethnic minority.

The peculiar nationality status of the Korean minority must be summarized here. Anywhere from 60 percent to 80 percent of the Koreans in Japan today are foreign residents without Japanese nationality. The vast majority of these "foreign" Koreans are second, third, and fourth generations who are born in Japan. Thus, the Korean majority, who have never seen Korea and who intend to stay in Japan permanently, are still citizens of either North or South Korea.

Source: Excerpted from Cho Chang Kuk, "Ethnic Identity and Political Movement: A History of the Korean Minority in Japan," in David Coates, ed., *Shattering the Myth of the Homogeneous Society: Minority Issues and Movements in Japan* (Berkeley: Japan Pacific Resource Network, 1990), pp. 28-34. Used by permission.

[1] The total Korean population in Japan today (1986) includes not only those who are nationals of North or South Korea (700,000), but also those who have obtained Japanese nationality through voluntary naturalization (120,000), mixed immigrants, and their children (anywhere from 10,000 to 100,000).

During Japan's colonial control of Korea, all Koreans—both in Korea and in Japan—were made Japanese nationals whether they liked it or not. This colonial period is the only time in modern Japanese history which saw the temporary suspension of the ideology of blood and the myth of monoethnicity. The imperialist ideology of colonization—and its accompanying cultural justification such as the propaganda of "Great East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere"—overrode the cultural tradition which equated ethnicity and nationality.

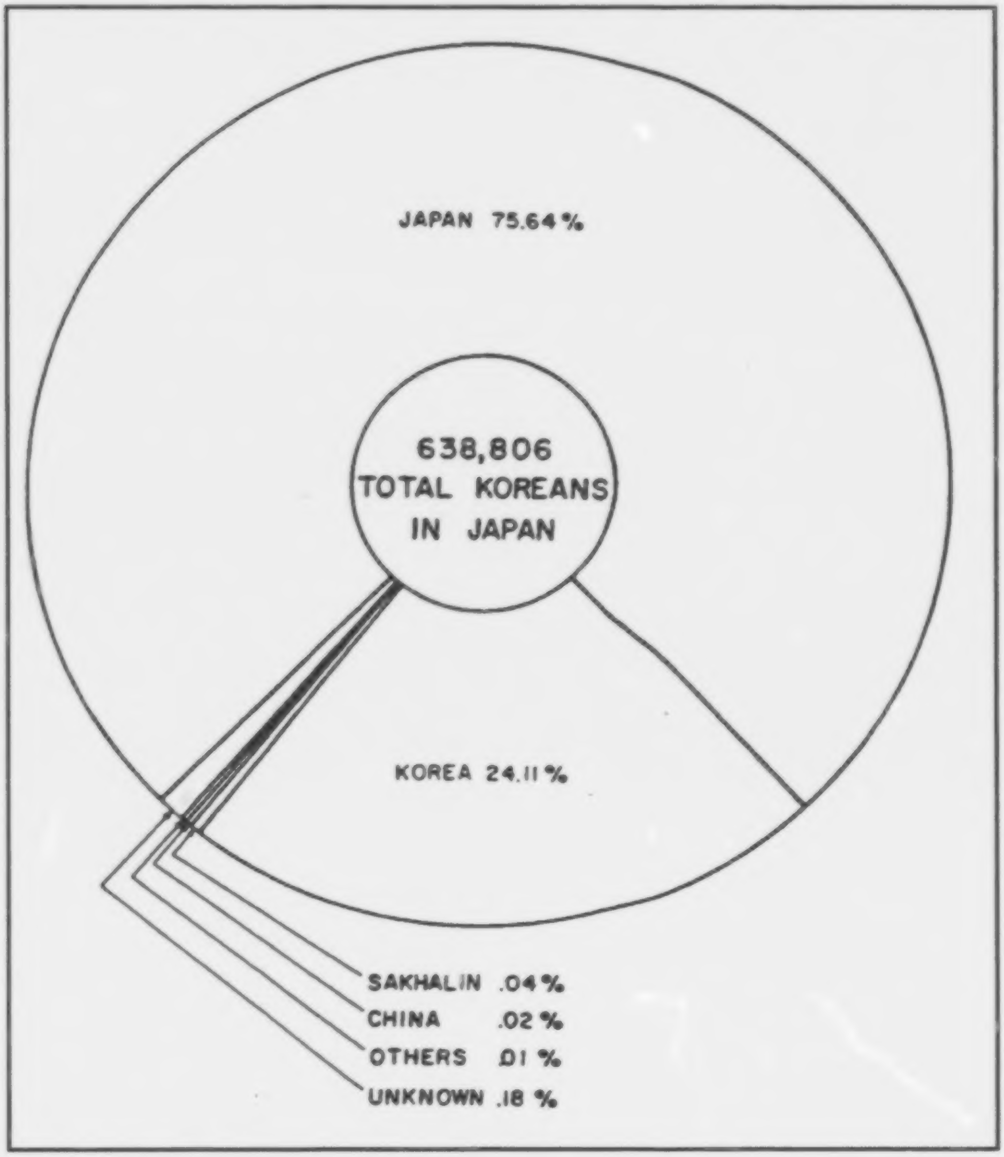
However, such ideological acceptance of Koreans as Japanese nationals was quickly dispelled as soon as Japan's imperialist dream came to an end. The post-war Japanese government considered the indefinite existence of the Korean population in Japan to be detrimental to its society and endeavored to either exclude them from Japan or assimilate them completely as Japanese. In 1947 Japan ordered all Koreans to register as foreign residents, as a step toward controlling Koreans as foreigners without the basic rights accorded to Japanese nationals. Five years later, Koreans in Japan were officially deprived of their Japanese nationality and were left without any protective legal status (such as permanent residency).

As the Japanese Nationality Law did not and does not recognize the place of birth as grounds for giving Japanese nationality, the future generations of Koreans in Japan were thus similarly denied of Japanese nationality and all the rights and privileges, such as voting rights and various welfare benefits, that it promised. The only way in which a non-Japanese (in ethnicity) may become a Japanese (in nationality) was through a naturalization procedure which required, up until 1984, the discarding of one's non-Japanese ethnic name and the formal adoption of a Japanese ethnic name. (This is another instance of the expression of the Japanese belief in the oneness of ethnicity and nationality.) Such denial of one's ethnic identity was too high a cost for most Koreans to bear. As a result, today [1986] only about 10 percent of the one million Koreans [in Japan] have voluntarily gone through this naturalization procedure. . . .

Document 3: Data on Koreans in Japan

This document contains facts and figures on Koreans in Japan between the late 1950s and mid-1970s.

Place of Birth



Source of figures: "Marginalization of Peoples," *IDOC/International Documentation* (September 1974), pp. 18-22, 39-42. Used by permission.
Data source: Ministry of Justice *Zairy gaikokujin T kei* (1974).

Distribution of Koreans in Japan by Type of Employment, 1969

Work Classification	Number	Percentage
Professional	3,499	0.8%
Managerial, clerical	19,262	4.6
Traders, shopowners	31,446	7.5
Primary industry	6,483	1.6
Construction and other industry	42,401	10.1
Service trades	6,625	1.6
Transport	13,005	3.1
Artists	774	0.2
Student researchers	9,287	2.2
Common labor, other	26,764	6.4
Total employed	159,546	38.1%
Marginalized	258,666	61.9%

Document 4: Personal Stories

The following statements were written by Koreans who grew up in Japan.

For the first twenty years of my life my name was Uno Yumi and I did not even know that I had a Korean name. My father is Uno Yukio, my mother Keiko. I later came to know that my parents' given names were Japanised Korean names [i.e. written with the same Chinese characters but pronounced in Japanese].

Yumi Lee

But I keep telling my daughter that she should live with pride, without fearing prejudice and discrimination. After all, humans are humans and they are all equally important. She does not say anything, though. She just smiles and listens to me. When there are Japanese around, my daughter calls me and my husband, "Mama and Papa" like many other Japanese children do. When no Japanese are around, she says " *moni* [mother in Korean] and *Ab chi* [father]." She must be self-conscious about being Korean. I understand the importance of using real Korean names. I must admit, however, that it is extremely difficult to do it. When my daughter finishes high school I wish to send her to Korea for a college education. Then she will use her Korean name. Until then I do not wish to think about it, because I cannot decide one way or another. I was born in Japan, and I know no Korean language. I hope my daughter takes a real interest in learning Korean. Then I will also attend language classes and learn my own language.

Mrs. Kim

"If you resent the discrimination, why don't you go back to your own country?" He read it in a letter to the newspaper editors from a housewife. When he read it he momentarily wondered if he had read it accurately. It was the most indifferent, most ignorant, and most cruel remark he had ever read or heard. Wouldn't an elementary school child be ashamed of saying such a thing? Who was responsible for the fact that the Koreans left their own country and began living in Japan? Who deprived the Koreans of their land and life? Who forced millions of them to wander around in Japan and in northeastern China? Could this be a remark made by a Japanese to the Koreans? He felt both strong anger and terrible disappointment. He wondered why such a letter had been chosen and printed in the newspaper. If such an opinion were expressed only in one single letter, such a letter would not have been selected. The fact that it was selected and printed probably meant that several other similar letters had been received by the editors who, therefore, judged that such an opinion was shared commonly by many Japanese. The letter from a housewife was chosen as expressive of the voice of an average Japanese. . . . What makes the Japanese entertain such an opinion? He said to himself, "I was born in Japan. I have received a Japanese education. I have lived and will live in the Japanese climate. I will never be able to escape from

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Source for Yumi Lee's story: George Hicks, *Japan's Hidden Apartheid: The Korean Minority and the Japanese* (Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 1997), p. 13.
Source for Mrs. Kim's, Kim Hak-Yong's, and Kumiko Takayama's stories: Hiroshi Wagatsuma, "Problems of Self-Identity Among Korean Youth in Japan," in Changsoo Lee and George De Vos, eds., *Koreans in Japan: Ethnic Conflict and Accommodation* (Berkeley: University of California, 1981), pp. 322, 311-312, 305.

the 'Japanese' in myself. I will never be able to escape from my fate of being neither a Korean nor a Japanese, or of being both a Korean and a Japanese. . . . However, through understanding and accepting myself as such, I may perhaps be able to understand the Japanese nation better. I may even be able to think of humanity more deeply. There might even be a true liberation for me in my efforts to learn and understand all about this."

Kim Hak-Yong

Kumiko Takayama (a maid, age 22, who used her Japanese pseudonym): It was when I was in elementary school. I was walking hand in hand with my close friends along a street in a shopping district. We were on our way home from school. Suddenly I saw an old woman in a white *chokoki* [Korean dress] walking toward us. My heart began beating fast. What should I do if that was my own grandma? If they found out that I was a Korean they would all walk away from me! I felt I was blushing. I was no longer holding my friends' hands. Step by step the old woman approached us. As I saw her face more and more clearly, my heart was beating faster and louder. There was only a 100-meter distance between us and the old woman. There was absolutely no doubt that it was my own grandmother. I prayed that she would not notice me. I prayed that she would not talk to me. I had gained all my close friends by hiding the fact that I was a Korean. Should I lose them nobody would talk to me any longer. Other children already had known what I was. They had laughed at me and called me a dirty Korean. I could no longer lose my friends. I prayed desperately. I walked along the edge of the street, keeping my face downward, looking at the surface of the road. But my prayer did not work. "Kumiko!" My grandmother called my name loudly and happily. She was greatly fond of me. I felt as if I had lost my eyesight! As if frightened, my friends quickly moved away from me. I brushed my grandmother's hand away and went home running and crying. . . . The next day, I wished I could stay home. I had to force myself to go to school. Nobody talked to me any more. The children who had been my close friends until that day, watched me from a distance without a word. . . . Why did I, alone, have to be laughed at, stoned, and spat at? After all we were the same humans, the same children. . . . I loathed my fate. Why was I singled out to be treated like that? Now that I am an adult I no longer wish I were a Japanese. I am satisfied with my being a Korean. However, I keep wondering why we cannot build a society without discrimination, a society in which everybody, regardless of race, color, and nationality, can live harmoniously together?

Document 5: Poems by Young Koreans in Japan

These poems were written by young Koreans living in Japan. The first poem was written by a 14-year-old girl whose parents had not yet been naturalized. She expressed her candid feelings in a poem sent to a Korean community newspaper published in Japan. Her sentiments may be considered typical of many young Koreans in Japan. The second poem was written by a young man contemplating suicide. The third poem was written by a North Korean living in Japan.

I Want to Be a Japanese
by Omura Akiko

Until this moment,
I have been hating myself being Korean.

When I was little,
I was really shocked to learn myself to be Korean.

Korea is a beautiful country.
My father, brother, and sister have been there several times.
I was told that the air is much cleaner, and things are much cheaper, too.

But, I can't help disliking Korea.
I don't think I can love it as my motherland.

When I was little, how many times was I insulted by my peers and ridiculed
about Korea?

When they said, how lucky they were to be born as Japanese
I wish I could have said the same.

By all means, I want to be a Japanese.
When I am 15
I must do my alien registration in person.

What shall I do, how shall I behave, at the local district office?
I just hate to think of myself going to that office.

Nevertheless, my 15th birthday is coming soon. . .

Source of first two poems: Changsoo Lee and George De Vos, *Koreans in Japan: Ethnic Conflict and Accommodation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), p. 154, 318. Used by permission of the author.

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Fate

Fate.
I am too weak to carry its heaviness.
I tried to run.
I tried to deceive.
I tried to forget.
I tried to forgive.
At last, I learned that I must fight.

But, alas!
I wish I could have avoided
Having been born in such a land. . . .

Tae rulio Chungsong ul tahary omnida
(We shall be loyal generation after generation)

Our respected and beloved Marshal
Is our benevolent father.
Our respected and beloved Marshal
Is always with us.
. . .
All over Japan, the foreign land,
We have our Chongryun,[1] with the banner of Juche.
We have our schools, with grand school buildings.
On each roof is the flag of the D.P.R.K.;[2]
In every classroom
The portrait of our Father Marshal.
In order to prepare for the workers of the socialist fatherland,
Our language we learn.
. . .

Source for third poem: *North Koreans in Japan: Language, Ideology, and Identity*, by Sonia Ryang. Copyright © 1997 by Westview Press. Reprinted by permission of Westview Press, a member of Perseus Books, Ltd.

[1] Association of North Koreans in Japan
[2] Democratic People's Republic of Korea

Document 6: A Case of Discrimination

This editorial from a Japanese newspaper was written in response to a case taken to a Japanese court by a resident Korean youth named Park Chong Suk, who charged the Hitachi Company with discrimination.

Reprinted from the *Asahi Newspaper*, May 4, 1974, Japan

While anti-Japanese feelings are mounting in Korea related to the Japanese economic expansion and a flood of tourists from Japan aiming at entertainment by entertainers (keesengs), a new protest movement through a boycott of all products by Hitachi Company of Japan has been launched related to an employment discrimination case against Koreans in Japan by the company. The movement is organized by the Christ Presbyterian Church and the Jesus Presbyterian Church of Korea—other churches are ready to join the movement. The number of Christians in Korea is estimated to be 5,000,000 and if the boycott is well organized it will carry much impact upon Japanese products. The Christian News, dated April 27th, a publication in Korea, reported that the Seoul Conference of the Korean Presbyterian Women's Society and also the Seoul Meeting of the Jesus Presbyterian Women's Missionary Conference adopted a resolution in their April meetings criticizing the Japanese discrimination against Koreans living in Japan. The protest is focused upon Hitachi Company, which was reported to have refused the employment of a Korean youth: thus the boycott was organized.

This Korean youth, PARK, Chong Suk, has taken the case to court and there will be a trial soon at the District Court of Yokohama. This case has aroused much interest in Korea, not as an individual case but as an incident symbolizing a deep-rooted prejudice of Japanese and discrimination deriving from it.

The Hitachi officials are taking the attitude of "wait and see." The Hitachi export to Korea includes television, radio, and other electric appliances as well as electronic parts, motors, generators and sub-way cars for Seoul—the total amount reaching 900,000,000 yen during October 1973 to March 1974 period.

Recently the Japanese business expansion in Korea has been under critical voices in terms of pollution, wage issues, violence by Japanese supervisors and other problems. There has been some discussion about this even on the level of the legislature. The Hitachi boycott may be another fuel even upon the mounting criticism against Japanese economic power in Korea.

Source: "Marginalization of Peoples," IDOC/International Documentation, No. 65 (September 1974). Used by permission.

Document 7: Awakened to Identity and Full Humanness

The following excerpts are from a speech by Song Pu-ja delivered at an international conference in Kyoto, Japan, in 1974.

I am the mother of four children. My three older children, all girls, attend Oshima Primary School in Kawasaki, where my son has been attending the Kawasaki Korean Church sponsored nursery school for the past two and a half years. Of 64 children registered, approximately one third are of North or South Korean parentage.

One evening at a PTA meeting, the teachers suddenly threw this question at us: "Why is that you Korean parents send your children to school under Japanese names?" Quite frankly, I was taken aback by the question. Up until that time I had never questioned the use of a Japanese name in our family. . . .

I was the fifth of seven daughters. My mother, widowed when I was two years old, and my younger sister only three months, raised the lot of us in abject poverty. In such an environment, study was impossible. Forced to wear the same dress for days on end, I had few friends. Even among the teachers there wasn't one who offered a kind word. When the family situation forced me to leave school before completing the required compulsory grades, it was with mixed feelings I walked out the door, for the prejudice and discrimination suffered at the hand of teacher and student alike are, even now, inexpressible memories.

When my own children were born, I resolved never to submit them to the same misery. For this reason, from their early childhood, they were taught that although our home was in Japan, they were Korean. How eager I was to raise children self-confident and strong even in the face of ridicule from their Japanese neighbors. . . .

Then one day, after my oldest daughter had been attending a public elementary school only one week, I heard her crying uncontrollably as she returned home. As she was an even-tempered, gentle child, the sound so surprised me, that I ran to meet her. Soothing her gently, at last I ferreted out the reason for her anguish.

After class, the children had all been preparing to go home, when one boy had asked my daughter, "What nationality are you?"

"I'm Korean," she replied. At that, all forty of her classmates crowded about her, jibing "Chosenjin, Chosenjin! Why don't you go back to Korea where you belong?"

Although she had been able to hold back the tears in the classroom by gazing down at the floor, they now burst forth uncontrollably as she fled homeward.

My whole body shook with fury, as I stormed back to the school to demand an interview with her young teacher, in her first year of experience.

Source: "Marginalization of Peoples," IDOC/International Documentation, No. 65 (September 1974). Used by permission.

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In my excitement, I expressed my anger with great vehemence the moment I laid eyes on her. "You call yourself an educator, but what kind of education are you giving these children? How could you stand silent while a child was being ridiculed this way?"

"Mrs. Song, as a teacher," she replied, "I have no desire to discriminate against any child. Korean children, Japanese children, both find an equal place here. At the time your daughter was being hounded, I happened to be out of the room. My only comment is that when innocent but ignorant children try to make a fool of a Korean child, it is the parents who are to blame."

After hearing her out, I could do nothing more than request her help in insuring that the incident was not repeated, before returning home, humbled and somewhat mollified. But my heart was still heavy with anger.

Then my daughter asked, "Mother, did we Koreans do something wrong a long time ago? Why do the others make fun of me this way?" At such times, my answer was always this: "In this wide world, there are all kinds of people—some with black skins, some with blue eyes. Even among westerners there are those with white hair, red hair, and brown hair too, there are even some with exceptionally white skin. But humans are all really the same inside, you know."

But today, I answered, "No, we Koreans have not done anything wrong. But you see, this is Japan, and since there are so few foreigners here, everyone considers us strange. Next time someone ridicules you, why not try this approach? Well, what nationality are you? I'm a Korean, of the same human race as you. Where are we different?" . . .

The next day, having arranged to meet the principal of the children's school, I was ill at ease, but, encouraged by the teacher's warm, understanding manner of listening, gradually grew bolder.

"What you have said has touched me deeply," he said, as I finished. "If you really want to use your Korean name, that's perfectly all right with us at the school. No matter how difficult a name it is, we'll be glad to use it. Our chief concern is whether your children will be happy with the change."

Standing beside the principal, my youngest daughter's teacher said, "this child will be fine. She is confident, bright, and doing well in class."

"Then, let's talk with the other girl's teachers, and form a plan," said the principal.

Can you imagine my joy at their reactions? All three home room teachers added their words of encouragement. I felt like dancing.

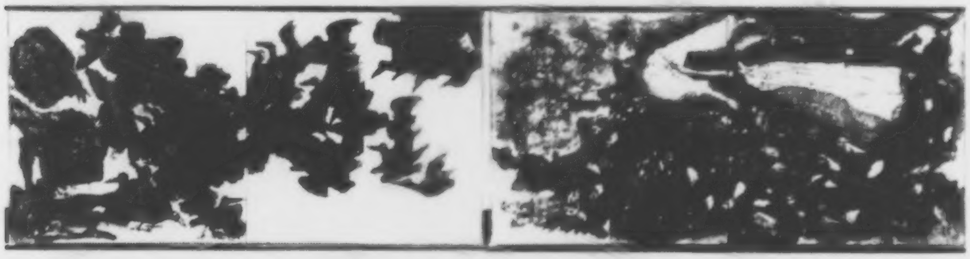
In actual fact, there had been rumors of parents' opposition. Whatever would we do if the school should prove opposed, I had wondered. Now, the teachers' mild acceptance of the proposal was somewhat of a shock.

The first day the children went off to school using their own names, their teachers drew a map on the blackboard in an attempt to gain the understanding of their classmates. With Korea and Japan so close, their people should be the best of friends, they said. No incidents of prejudice or racial superiority should ever be countenanced between them.

Returning from school that day the children's faces were a study in delight. . . .

Document 8: Koreans and the Atomic Bomb

Japanese artists Maruki Iri and Maruki Toshi painted this mural and wrote the accompanying poem, "Crows XIV," lamenting the treatment of Koreans following the bombing of Hiroshima.



See CD-ROM for larger reproduction of the mural.

Crows XIV

Koreans and Japanese look alike
In those mercilessly charred faces
how can one see a difference?

"After the Bomb, the bodies of the Koreans
were left on the streets to the very last.
Some were alive but few. Nothing to be done.
Crows descending from the sky. Hordes of crows.
Coming down to eat the eyes of the Koreans.
Eat the eyes."*

Even in death, Koreans were discriminated against
Even at death, Japanese discriminated against Koreans
Asians both, hit by the Bomb

Beautiful chima chogori
Flying through the sky to Korea
the homeland
We respectfully offer this painting
We pray.

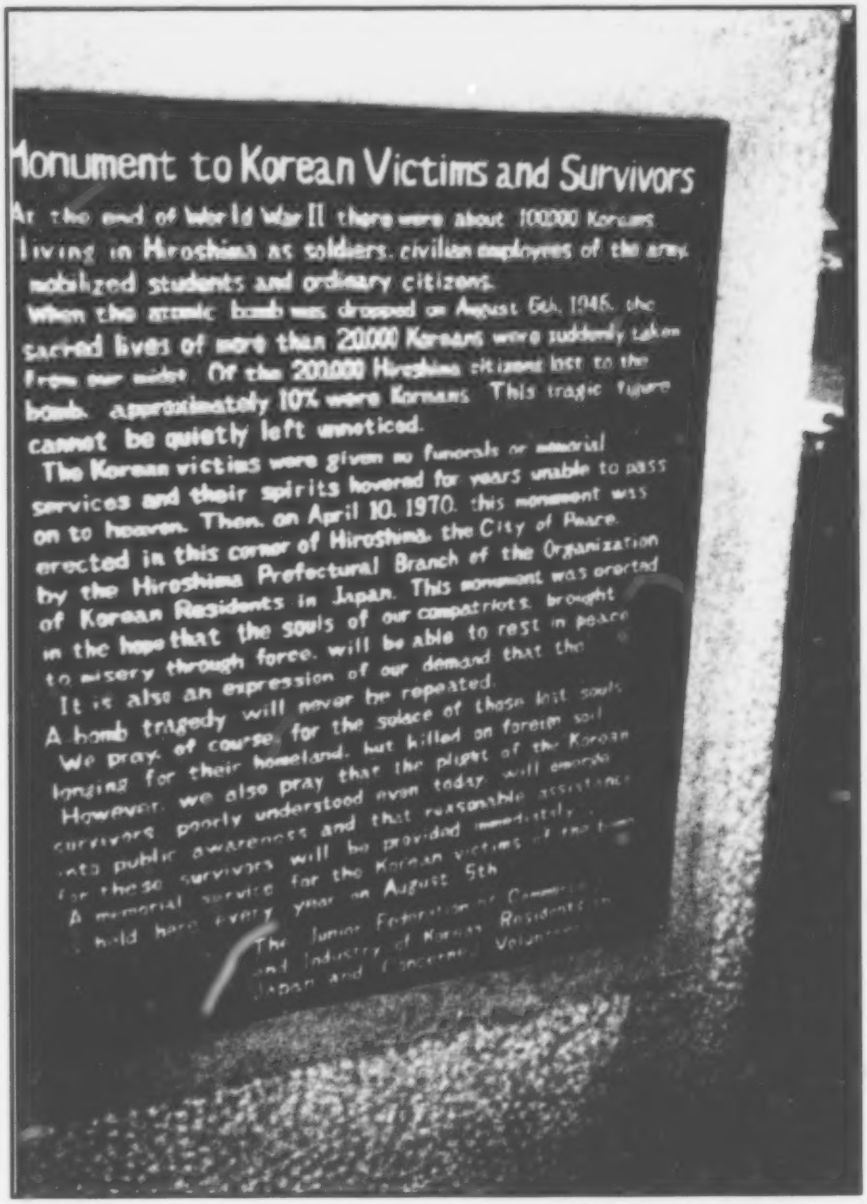
*from the writings of Ishimure Michiko

Note: In the Mitsubishi Shipyards in Nagasaki, there were forced laborers from Korea numbering more than 5,000. There were also many Korean forced laborers in Hiroshima. In South Korea alone today, there are approximately 15,000 Atomic Bomb survivors who have no official recognition as such and have received no assistance.

Source: John W. Dower and John Junkerman, eds., *The Hiroshima Murals: The Art of Iri Maruki and Toshi Maruki* (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1985). Used by permission of the Maruki Gallery for the Hiroshima Panels.

Document 9: Korean Monument

This monument to Koreans who were killed when Americans dropped the atomic bomb on Hiroshima stands outside the Peace Park in that city.



Monument to Korean Victims and Survivors

At the end of World War II there were about 100,000 Koreans living in Hiroshima as soldiers, civilian employees of the army, mobilized students and ordinary citizens.

When the atomic bomb was dropped on August 6th, 1945, the sacred lives of more than 20,000 Koreans were suddenly taken from our midst. Of the 200,000 Hiroshima citizens lost to the bomb, approximately 10% were Koreans. This tragic figure cannot be quietly left unnoticed.

The Korean victims were given no funerals or memorial services and their spirits hovered for years unable to pass on to heaven. Then, on April 10, 1970, this monument was erected in this corner of Hiroshima, the City of Peace, by the Hiroshima Prefectural Branch of the Organization of Korean Residents in Japan. This monument was erected in the hope that the souls of our compatriots, brought to misery through force, will be able to rest in peace.

It is also an expression of our demand that the A-bomb tragedy will never be repeated.

We pray, of course, for the solace of those lost souls killed on foreign soil longing for their homeland, but

However, we also pray that the plight of the Korean survivors, poorly understood even today, will emerge into public awareness and that reasonable assistance for these survivors will be provided immediately.

A memorial service for the Korean victims of the bomb is held here every year on August 5th.

The Junior Federation of Commerce and Industry of Korean Residents in Japan and Concerned Volunteers

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Document 1: Are You Japanese?

In an interview, American author Norma Field asked a resident of Okinawa if he thinks of himself as Japanese. His response included the following words:

I ask Shoichi if he thinks of himself as Japanese. "That question always gives me trouble. I always find myself hesitating." My fearless guide Toshiko jumps in to help him; she has decided for herself, after the example of "Mr. LeRoi Jones" (Imamu Baraka), whom she has read avidly in translation, to call herself a Ryukyuan-Japanese. "I never hesitate," she says. But Shoichi isn't entirely persuaded. "Well, when someone says to me, 'Are you Japanese?' I want to say, 'I'm Ryukyuan'; there's something that keeps me from saying I'm Japanese outright." "You're only Japanese from an administrative point of view," continues Toshiko. "I know," Shoichi agrees. "I could just go along with common sense and call myself Japanese. And I know, if people look at me from the outside, from Asia, I am Japanese, just like the ones who went to war with Asians. But inside Japan, I want to say, I'm different, at least, I'm not the same as the Yamato race."

Yamato is a common way for Okinawans, when speaking to each other, to refer to the large islands to the north of them. (Sometimes older people will ask tourists, "Are you from Japan?") Mainlanders are "Yamatunchu," and Okinawans themselves are "Uchinanchu." This logic inclines some progressive Okinawans in the direction of nativism, a glorification of Okinawan customs as a resource to counter the lure and corruption of mainland capital. Yet this enabling appeal to tradition, like all claims to ethnic distinction, runs the risk of promoting romantic delusion as well as of replicating the structure of domination and exclusion. I wonder if Shoichi is tempted by this path. In his written statement to the court, he refers to the president of the Japan Softball Association as a Yamatunchu. It is an economic expression of contempt for the man who, having forced the display of the Rising Sun at the Forest of Peace Park, turned around and tried to worship at the cave in spite of the presence of an *oba* [old woman or grandmother] who stood guard and said, "This is a private grave. Let him go to Mabuni." (Mabuni is a national memorial park on the southern end of Okinawa Island dedicated to honoring noble sacrifices to the war effort.)

Source: From *In the Realm of a Dying Emperor: Japan at Century's End* by Norma Field, copyright © 1991 by Norma Field. Used by permission of Pantheon Books, a division of Random House, Inc.

Document 2: "Bones"
by Shima Tsuyoshi

In the short story "Bones," construction workers learn that bones of the dead from the Battle of Okinawa have been found at the site of the hotel they are about to build. The excerpt below entails telling dialogue between an old woman who remembers the war and members of the construction crew, many of whom do not.

"It's like the old woman said. The upper layer is all ashes."

The assistant section chief directed his crew to spread a canvas tarp along the edge of the pit. Kamakichi and the man in the rubber work boots were put to work doing the sorting. When each spadeful of dirt and ash was shoveled out of the hole, their job was to pick out the pieces of bone and put them in a burlap bag. Because the small, cremated pieces of bone had been reduced almost to a powder, it was impossible to identify any of them as belonging to a particular part of the human anatomy. Kamakichi closed his eyes. It was with a sinking feeling of dread and disgust that he forced his hands to sift through the piles of ashes.

The work went at a livelier pace once whole pieces of bone began to emerge from the pit. The gloomier the job became, the more it seemed, paradoxically, to raise the men's spirits. . . .

All at once the men roared with laughter.

"No, no. It's not right to laugh at the dead. They're all bodhisattvas [in Buddhism, those who, out of compassion, forgo the state of blessedness, called nirvana, to save others] now, you know." The assistant section chief looked very serious, befitting his position of responsibility, and there was a mildly admonishing tone in his voice. . . .

"I bet you were born after the war," said [the man wearing] Rubber Boots to Kamakichi.

Kamakichi felt as if the older man was trying to make fun of him. As for the war, he had no memory of it. "I was two when the war ended."

"Why, it's practically the same thing. If you ask me it seems like, ever since the war, we've all kept on living here in these islands by picking our way through a huge pile of bones. That's what's kept us going."

"Back then, nobody batted an eye at the thought of sleeping with a corpse," chimed in One-Eyed Jack.

Rubber Boots went on with what he was saying. He spoke with the authority of an older person who was the senior member of the work crew. "I was in the local defense forces when I was taken prisoner. One day I discovered a patch of big, white daikon [radishes] growing in a field not far from the POW camp. But when I went to dig them out of the ground, I found they were growing on top of a huge mound of bones."

Source: Excerpted from Shima Tsuyoshi, "Bones," William J. Tyler, trans., in Michael Molasky and Steve Rabson, eds., *Southern Exposure: Modern Japanese Literature from Okinawa* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000; appeared in *Ryukyu Shinpo* in 1973), pp. 162-167. Used by permission of University of Hawai'i Press.

"Did you eat 'em?" asked Hippie-Beard.

"Of course I did. What do you think?"

Once again the men roared with laughter.

"It's the dead protecting the living," said One-Eyed Jack. The tone of his voice was almost reverential.

"This here banyan tree is a lot like us. It's had good fertilizer." Rubber Boots stretched himself upward from the waist and craned his neck to peer up at the tree.

"It's the same for everybody here in Okinawa," added One-Eyed Jack, sounding almost as if he were making excuses for himself.

"That may be true, but what about the others? You know, the ones who've used their fellow Okinawans as bonemeal to feed off them and make themselves rich and fat." It was Hippie-Beard speaking up again. He had been born after the war but was determined not to let this conversation pass without putting in his two cents.

"So just who is it you're talking about?" One-Eyed Jack had turned serious.

But now Hippie-Beard got flustered, at a loss to explain.

As Kamakichi sorted out the pieces of bone, he could feel the gorge rise in this throat and he had to swallow hard from time to time just to be able to keep working. He felt oddly out of place amid the lively banter of the other men in the work crew. What they were saying struck him as terribly disrespectful, even blasphemous, toward the dead. At the same time, he kept trying to tell himself that the bones were just objects, no different from what one might find in an archaeological dig of an old shell mound.

In the afternoon, as the men began to let their pace slacken, all at once the old woman silently reappeared, as if out of nowhere. They welcomed her back, trying to joke with her about the job they were doing. But she would have no part of it. She hunkered down next to Kamakichi and began to study the pile of bones. As always, her mouth was in constant but wordless motion.

"Hey, ma'am. Afterwards we want you to do a good job of saying prayers for the dead buried here to rest in peace. Otherwise, there'll be hell to pay if so many lost souls get out and start wandering all over the place." The assistant section chief seemed to be in an uncharacteristically jocular mood.

But the old woman said nothing, and presently she began to help Kamakichi sift through a pile of ash. She worked with the deftness of a farm girl trained to sort beans of different sizes. As her fingers sifted, her mouth in ceaseless motion began to form words that she muttered to herself. "You poor, poor things. Whose bones are you, here in this miserable place? Look what's become of you. Who were your parents? And who were your children? It's all so sad." . . .

Document 3: Petition Regarding Military Land Appropriations

The following document incorporates excerpts from a petition regarding military land appropriations. In 1957 the petition was sent by local officials in Okinawa to members of the Japanese Parliamentary Committee in Tokyo.

Petition Regarding Military Land Appropriations

1. Forward: In this fine spring weather when the camellia flowers blossom a bright red and our hearts feel cleansed, we, the residents of Maja district, Ieson, Okinawa, welcome with overflowing joy the report that Members of Parliament from our mother country will soon be vising our island. To us your visit signifies the arrival of an angel, and we are driven to clasp our hands in praise while offering you a million thanks. Words cannot express our joy and we offer you the deepest gratitude. Rather than simply glossing over the surface rhetoric of Okinawa's problems, we hope that you will not only grasp the full truth but also kindly show us the path for Okinawa's steady progress.

2. Land Appropriations: Although after the conclusion of the tragic Pacific War, we residents of Maja, Iejima, lived in a state of despondency in windswept houses with dirt floors, shivering in the cold in the winter, and roasting in the heat in the summer, we did not surrender to our hardships, but instead, persevered. However, our former lands were taken by the US military, and we have fallen into unparalleled misery, barely able to piece together a living. Thus we would like to record this situation, and humbly request you to indicate a satisfactory solution.

i. July 1953: The beginning of the land problem dates back to July 19, 1953. Through the interpretation of Mr. Goto (a *nisei*), the American soldier in charge of land affairs at the time, we were requested permission to conduct land surveys. When we hesitated, Mr. Goto assured us that it was a simple survey and that we had nothing to worry about, and so we allowed the survey. After they completed the survey, we were pressed to affix our seals on a form, which we did, trusting their good faith. We were outraged when we later learned that in giving our seal we had agreed to our removal from our lands, but at the time this still did not interfere greatly with our farming.

ii. July 1954: The US military ordered us to leave within a week, and with a mixture of fear and anger we protested the order. We were told that we had absolutely nothing to worry about, but our relief was short-lived. Presently the Army began firing practices in the fields, damaging our crops, the fields, and the mountains. Only then did we realize that we had been tricked, and although our anger welled up inside us there was nothing to be done. . . .

iv. March 11, 1955: Over three hundred fully armed soldiers arrived, and began burning down houses and destroying them with bulldozers, heedless of our cries. All of us villagers begged them to stop, . . . but they only responded, "We are past the stage for negotiations. This island was wrought with American blood, and you are Third World citizens, so be quiet." When the American soldiers pointed their guns at us, we just ran around terrified, now knowing what to do. As the elderly Shimabukuro Sansuke drooped his head, petrified, an American soldier came over,

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Source: Tosu Fumiaki. *Okinawa: The 1950's Land Struggle*, senior thesis, Amherst College (April 12, 1999), pp. xiv-xx. Used by permission of the author.

forced Shimabukuro's hands together, and handed him money. Having captured the scene on film, they used it to advertise the success of the land appropriations. Similarly, seizing the fleeing villagers, they forced us each to press our thumbs on a form, and behaved as if we had approved of the land appropriations.

v. Period immediately following the land appropriation: We filed a detailed description of the events of the GRI and appealed for appropriate measures to be taken, but Mr. Higa, the Chief Executive at the time, replied, "we have reports that the landowners of Iejima have all already agreed to the measures, voluntarily relocated, and accepted the money as well, so you are no longer needed here. Go home." We had not even dreamt that the Executive Office would make up such an uncompassionate, not to mention false, story, so we petitioned the Ryukyu Legislature to expose this fraud. However, we only received a similar response. . . .

viii. In closing: Beginning in 1953 up to the present, we have had our water tanks destroyed, our crops covered with gasoline and incinerated, and as if that were not enough, we have been thrown into jail, forced into penal servitude, and fined. We have thus endured all types of oppression, cruelty, and plots against us, in a fervent fight to uphold the honor of the Japanese people. However, we have reached the limit of our strength, and our bodies are exhausted and can fight no longer.

3. We entreat you, the parliamentary committee, to hear our plea: . . . We would like to repeatedly ask that you fully appreciate our agony and our desire to call down a fatal curse on those that violently deprived us of our land, and beg you to make efforts so that we can once again live as human beings.

Signed,

Motoyama Seiji
District Chief
Maja District, Ieson, Okinawa
March 12, 1957

Document 4: The Days of My Youth

Although the poem "A Conversation" was written by Yamanokuchi Baku at an earlier date, it was incorporated into his 1964 publication "The Days of My Youth."

In the coffee shop where I used to hang out, one of the regular customers showed up one day after a long absence, his face deeply tanned. He announced in a loud voice to the woman who ran the shop and her daughter that he had been on a business trip to Okinawa. I'd been talking to some other people at the time, but, being from Okinawa, I was slightly irritated to hear him mention it. Most Okinawans of my generation feel uncomfortable at such times. . . . hearing him talk about how he was invited to the home of a "chieftain," how he drank *awamori* [Okinawa distilled liquor] from a soup bowl, and how "the natives" do this and that, I felt as though he was conjuring up visions of a place I'd never seen. Although aware that this was simply a tourist's amusement, I was saddened, not only because I am Okinawan, but also because the manager's daughter was listening wide-eyed to this man's every word. I had been planning for some time to graduate from my lumpen life-style, and my relationship with this girl had progressed to the point where I was intending to ask her to marry me. I couldn't help wondering what she would think if she knew I was Okinawan. Sitting in a booth of that coffee shop, I concentrated all my energy on writing this poem.

A Conversation

"Where are you from," she asked.
I thought about where I was from and lit a cigarette.
That place colored by associations with tattoos, the *jabisen*,
and ways as strange as ornamental designs.
"Very far away," I answered.
"In what direction," she asked.
That place of gloomy customs near the southern tip of the Japanese
archipelago where women carry piglets on their heads and people walk
barefoot. Was this where I was from?
"South," I answered.
"Where in the south," she asked.
In the south, that zone of indigo seas where it's always summer and dragon
orchids, sultan umbrellas, octopus pins, and papayas all nestle together
under the bright sunlight. That place shrouded in misconceptions
where, it is said, the people aren't Japanese and can't understand the
Japanese language.
"The subtropics," I answered.
"Oh, the subtropics!" she said.
Yes, my dear, can't you see "the subtropics" right here before your eyes?
Like me, the people there are Japanese, speak Japanese, and were born
in the subtropics. But, viewed through popular stereotypes, that place I am from
has become a synonym for chieftains, natives, karate, and *awamori*.
"Somewhere near the equator," I said.

Source: Excerpted from Yamanokuchi Baku, "The Days of My Youth" and "A Conversation," Steve Rabson, trans., in Michael Molasky and Steve Rabson, eds., *Southern Exposure: Modern Japanese Literature from Okinawa* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), pp. 46-48. Used by permission of the University of Hawai'i Press.

Document 5: The Girl with the White Flag
By Higa Tomiko

Born in Okinawa, Higa Tomiko, author of The Girl with the White Flag, was holding the flag mentioned in the title when an American photographed her at the time of Japan's surrender to the Allied Forces. A meeting in 1988 between the young woman and the photographer prompted Higa to write her story. What follows is from that autobiography.

"Tomiko, as long as you're holding that, you'll be quite safe," said the old man. "It's a symbol understood all over the world. You'll be absolutely safe."

"If it's absolutely safe, you and Grandpa come with me!" I said, catching hold of the old lady's hand. But the old man said, "We'll stay here. You'll manage all right alone, Tomiko. You must hurry and go." He looked at me very intently, his eyes opened wide. . . .

I knew the old man was far too large to get through the tiny entrance to the cave, and the old lady too weak. But I thought there might be another entrance I did not know about through which they could escape without anyone seeing them. Otherwise, how could they possibly have got in? I thought there must be an entrance large enough for a grown up and looked around.

And then I thought of the night I saw a [Japanese] officer stab to death fifteen or sixteen badly wounded soldiers with his sword, one after the other. Even if there was another entrance through which the old couple managed to escape, what with the old man very badly wounded and the old lady's vision badly impaired, they would probably be killed on the spot if they were discovered by a Japanese soldier. In that case, I reasoned, they would be better off here. I wondered what to do.

Just then the old man spoke: "You're a child, Tomiko, and the American troops would never shoot you. Americans do not lie." . . .

"Grandpa and Grandma, thank you for everything," I said, with a little bow of my head.

"Good. So you're going," said the old man, vigorously nodding approval. "When you get outside, hold up that flag good and high so everyone can see it. And hold it straight. Got it? High and straight."

Those were the last words I heard him say. . . .

When I got out of the cave, I hurried off as far away from it as possible. I was afraid that if I hung about, someone might discover the opening to the cave and find the old couple. . . .

The sun beating down on me made me perspire even when standing still. When we left our home in Shuri, the rainy season had just begun, and it had rained on and off the entire time I was wandering about, hiding, and the roads, and where the caves were, and even parts of the

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Source: Excerpted from Higa Tomiko, *The Girl with the White Flag: An Inspiring Story in Love and Courage in War Time*, translated by Dorothy Britton (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1991), pp. 104-111. Used by permission of Kodansha International.

pampas moor had been so muddy it had been very hard to walk. But now it was high summer, and heat waves shimmered all about me. Even my triangular white flag, made from the old man's loincloth, seemed to be undulating in the summer heat. I could hear birds singing, and pleasant breezes caressed my cheeks. It was all so tranquil and serene that it was hard to believe that this had been that same battlefield.

The picture of the old man and the old lady refused to leave me. And then I thought I heard my father's voice right nearby saying, "Tomiko, you must stick it out to the end," followed by my mother's voice saying, "Tomiko, I'm right here with you." I looked around, but there was no one in sight. . . .

Presently, the path I was on was joined by another one coming from my right. Just as the old man had said, there was nothing to be afraid of, and beginning to feel lighthearted, I had quickened my pace, when I was suddenly aware of people on my right, and looking up, I saw two or three soldiers standing there whose faces did not look at all Japanese.

American soldiers! They were the first I had ever seen, and my heart missed a beat, with fright. I saw that one of them was holding something in front of his face with a round hole in it pointed directly at me. What could it be? It did not look at all like the rifles and machine-guns that Japanese soldiers carried. In fact it looked rather like the camera used in the Naha photographer's shop where we once had a picture taken of us as a family.

"Maybe it's a camera," I thought. "But on the other hand, maybe it's some weapon I don't know about. He's going to take a picture that will kill me."

When I was going from cave to cave, I heard people say American soldiers were very cruel and thought nothing of killing people. They told me Americans cut women and children up into little pieces. These false rumors were spread by the Japanese Army to make the populace hate the Americans and think of them as ogres, so as to make people afraid to surrender. But I did not know that at the time, and innocently believed them.

"If that's a weapon," I thought, "this is the end. I'm going to be killed." Then I remembered my father's words, "If you come face to face with the enemy, don't let him see you cry. Die with a smile." So, right away, I looked straight at the round hole pointed at me, and smiled. At the same time, I let go my left hand that was holding up my pants and waved, and with my right hand, I gripped the white flag that had been resting on my shoulder, and held it high.

"Grandpa, Grandma, thank you for the white flag, but it didn't work. I'm going to be shot," I said to myself as I walked along, resigned to my fate, staring at the round hole from which I expected a bullet to come toward me any minute. But it never came. In a moment the round hole was right beside me and I heard a click.

As I passed the American soldier, I could not see his face because he was looking through the round hole, but his pink cheeks left a vivid impression in my mind. Although he was an enemy soldier, his plump cheeks gave him a kindly look.

Well, the old man was right after all, I thought. The white flag was an emblem of safety. I was still not entirely free from anxiety, but so far, there didn't seem to be anything hostile or scary about American soldiers.

Document 6: Has the Postwar Come to an End?

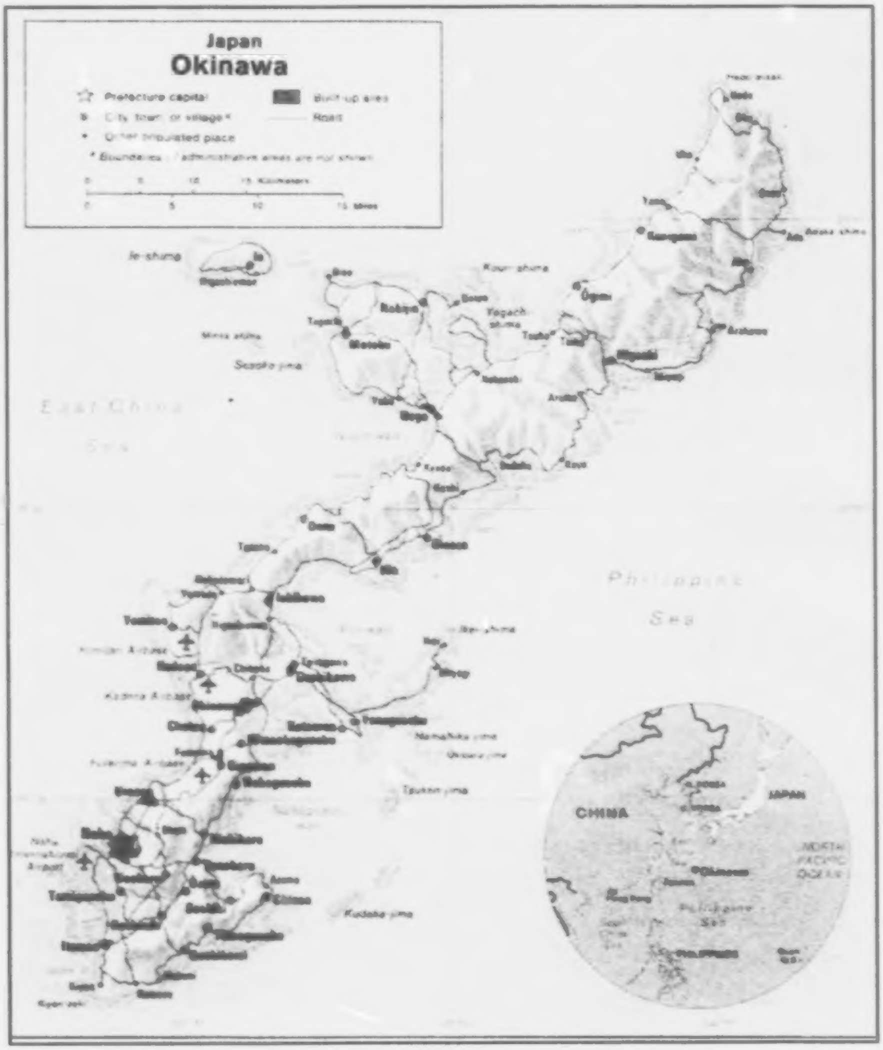
Ienaga Saburo is arguably Japan's best-known historian. To include in his textbook material he deemed necessary to understanding Japanese history, he sued the Japanese government three times on the issue of textbook censorship. In 1969, he made the following comments about postwar Okinawa.

There is one way, we often hear, in which Japan was fortunate—that unlike Germany and Korea, Japan was not cut up to pieces; but it's not the case that Japan was not divided: don't forget that Japan proper and Okinawa are still divided [in 1969]. And the agonies the Okinawans have suffered during these twenty-four years under the control of another nation . . . . And these shocking things [crimes by U.S. soldiers immune from prosecution by the civilian government] happen to our countrymen. Moreover Okinawa is being used as a base for a most brutal war of aggression against Vietnam. And from there the fearsome bombers fly . . . . By no means can we say, "the postwar has ended." . . . Not only has the postwar not come to an end, we are now in the process of returning to the prewar state of affairs.

Source: Ienaga Saburo, "Sengo wa owatta ka" (1969), in *Senso to kyoikuto megutte* (Hosei daigaku, 1973), pp. 69, 80. Reprinted in Ienaga Saburo, *Japan's Past/Japan's Future: One Historian's Odyssey*, translated and introduced by Richard H. Minear (Boulder, CO: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2001), p. 136.

Document 7: A Map of Okinawa

This map, published by the United States Central Intelligence Agency in 1990, reveals the location of American military bases in Okinawa. Approximately 20 percent of all Okinawan land and approximately 10 percent of the main island of Okinawa were then occupied by American military bases.


Japan
Okinawa
Prefecture capital
Built-up area
City, town, or village*
Road
Other populated place
* Boundaries of administrative areas are not shown
Kilometers
Miles
Ie-shima
East China Sea
Philippine Sea
Kadena Air Base
Naha
CHINA
JAPAN
Okinawa
NORTH PACIFIC OCEAN
Philippine Sea

Map of Okinawa (including military bases) (Washington, DC: United States Central Intelligence Agency, 1990).

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Document 8: Cocktail Party
by Oshiro Tatsuhiro

Cocktail Party is a novella written by Oshiro Tatsuhiro, who won the Akutagawa Prize for fiction in 1967. It deals with aspects of the American military presence in Okinawa.

Aftermath

It happened on that same hot and humid night. Unable to locate Mr. Morgan's boy, you and Mr. Sun had stopped at the metal fence surrounding the family brigade. About the time you were listening to his recollections, your daughter was being attacked at Cape M. She had already gone to bed when you arrived home, mildly intoxicated, from the party. Your wife greeted you, her face tightly drawn, and showed you the school uniform your daughter had worn that day. From the many rips and stains it was obvious that something terrible had happened to her, and the sight filled you with horror.

She had been raped by Robert Harris, the American soldier who rented your rear apartment. Three hours before her ordeal you had sauntered through the security gate into the family brigade feeling smug because you could walk around inside without the slightest worry. While you were looking for Mr. Miller's house, your daughter had been on her way home from visiting a friend. She had just reached the edge of town when Robert Harris called to her from his car. The two of them, the tenant and his landlord's daughter, rode along casually, stopping for dinner in town, then drove out to enjoy the cool of the evening at Cape M. The cape is an ideal place to escape the heat at night, but it is twenty-five miles from town, and even the nearest village is two miles away. They had seen no one else around that night, and it was there that he suddenly turned brutal.

You were grateful not to have heard the details directly from your daughter, but for the rest of the night you almost couldn't believe it really happened. First of all, Robert Harris already had a girlfriend. In fact, it was because of her that he had rented the apartment where they could stay together two or three days a week. As a tenant he'd always been friendly with your family. Recalling pleasant chats you'd had, you couldn't imagine his attacking anyone. Of course, you were aware that such incidents occurred in these postwar times, but it was difficult to connect the vaguely sinister image of alien soldiers with the foreigners you knew personally as friends.

His girlfriend returned to the apartment the following day after having spent about ten days with her family on another island. You told her what happened, though neither you nor your wife had considered what to do about it. Accusing Robert Harris, pressing charges, seeking compensation—such things had not yet come to mind. You told her simply and directly, without raising your voice or showing emotion. At first, only her eyes revealed the shock. After you finished, she sat silently for a moment, then cried out all at once in a voice filled with anguish.

"He's made both of us his victims!"

Source: Excerpted from Oshiro Tatsuhiro, "Cocktail Party," in Oshiro Tatsuhiro and Higashi Mineo, *Okinawa: Two Postwar Novellas*, translated with an introduction and afterword by Steve Rabson (Berkeley: University of California, Institute of East Asian Studies, Center for Japanese Studies, 1989), pp. 50-57. Used by permission.

She immediately began to pack her belongings, and by the next day she had moved out. You assumed she would seek refuge with some of her friends, but if she intended to break up with Robert Harris, she left no message to give him when he returned. You felt then how remote this girl's world was from your own. Yet at the same time you were struck with an acute realization of suffering Robert had caused, and rage welled up inside you. By the third night after the incident, you were determined to press charges.

Your daughter, however, strongly opposed prosecution. She wouldn't say why, though at first you assumed it was because she felt ashamed. You sympathized with her, but the crime and Robert's situation with his girlfriend remained unresolved. You could no longer bear the feeling that you were always surrounded by a world beyond your reach, so you tried to persuade her to change her mind. She insisted that she was not objecting out of shame; and when you pressed her, several times she seemed on the verge of revealing why, but in the end she refused to tell. Then, on the following day, you learned the reason.

The house was visited by a foreigner, accompanied by a Japanese-American interpreter. They had come to take your daughter into custody. Apparently, following the rape, she had pushed Robert over an embankment, and he'd been seriously hurt. The issue now did not seem to be Robert's attack on your daughter. According to these men, who said that they had been sent from the military's Criminal Investigation Division, she was to be arrested "on suspicion in connection with an injury to U.S. forces personnel." Robert Harris, "the injured party," was now in a military hospital. You hurriedly explained that she had acted in legitimate self-defense, but to no avail. They only suggested filing a separate complaint. When you asked if this should be done at the C.I.D., they said to go to the Okinawan police station. Then they took your daughter into custody. . . .

Document 9: A Warm Wind from Nairobi

In this document, a "voice" from the Japanese Women's Movement explains the influence of a 1985 international conference on Okinawan women.

The 1985 UN Conference on Women, which was held in Nairobi at the end of the UN Decade for Women, had a strong impact on the Okinawan women who joined the conference . . . Many women from various countries attended the workshop on prostitution and women's labor held by the "Okinawa Women's Association 1980." . . .

This warm wind in Nairobi again blew in Okinawa. The women's "Unai" (Sisterhood) Festival . . . aimed to create a new culture by and for women through the perspective of the Nairobi experience and grounded in Okinawan women's history. . . .

The name *unai* derives from women's determination. Since time immemorial, sisters in families have been called *unai* and have been regarded as having great spiritual power. Thus, the birth of a daughter is considered precious. However, in this communal society that worships ancestors, there is the ceremonial responsibility of *totome* (a long wood card with ancestors' names in which the spirits reside), which stems from paternalistic kin relations in which the birth of the eldest son who will succeed the house is cherished. A woman who married the eldest son of the family was invariably expected to give birth to male children and had to continue giving birth until she bore a boy; if she failed to deliver, she would be divorced or would raise a male child conceived by her husband with another woman.

This deep-rooted custom of *totome* divided women into those who bore males and those who did not. Single women were buried in shabby graves on the roadside. Thus *totome* has been one basic source of indignity and deep sadness for women. On the other hand, rituals in communities were maintained by *noro* (female ritual moderators), and the spiritual power of women was highly regarded. . . . It appears as if, at first glance, the men and women shared equal value, and the power between men and women was mutually supportive, but strictly speaking the basis of this custom was the denial of femininity.

Okinawan women marked 1985 as "the first year of Unai" and declared that women will make and act upon their decisions in order to live their own lives and enable others to live. They took up the issues of peace, the environment, discrimination, customs, work and culture from women's viewpoints. On the day of the festival, about 60 to 80 organizations and groups gathered . . . Women's autonomy, independence, and networking are Unai's distinctive features. . . . The festival is like a tapestry of various groups and organizations, including labor activists, artists, feminists, and alternative natural childbirth groups, peace and human rights activists, a group for mother and children's issues, recycling groups, international cooperation groups, a women manager's society and a consumer cooperative. It is like a weaving that uses women's history as the weft and solidarity with women of Asia and the world as the weave. The festival is also a space for uncovering and expressing women's possibilities and capabilities for arts . . . it is a space for interchange, for posing problems; it is action oriented, boldly challenging, and makes new findings.

Source: Takazato Suzuyo, "The Past and Future of Unai," *Voices from the Japanese Women's Movement*, edited by AMPO-Japan Asia Quarterly Review (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1996), pp. 140-141. Reprinted by permission from M.E. Sharpe, Inc., Armonk, NY 10504.

Document 10: Okinawa and Hirohito

Hirohito, emperor of Japan from 1925 until his death in 1989, never visited postwar Okinawa. This excerpt from Hirohito and His Times, *by Kawahara Toshiaki, may shed some light on why.*

. . . [A]fter twenty-seven years of negotiations by a string of prime ministers, Okinawa was returned to Japan in 1972. . . . however happy "mainland" Japanese may have been about the reversion, the feelings of the Okinawans themselves were rather more complicated. From the fourteenth century onward Okinawa had been an independent kingdom, but they were subsequently invaded and subjugated by the Satsuma warlords of southern Kyushu, who ruled the islands until the Meiji Restoration in 1868.

Then, in World War II, it became Japan's last line of defense, and even Okinawan schoolchildren took up arms in the name of the emperor and provided medical support for the Japanese soldiers in the field. In light of the tragedy it was thought that the emperor ought to visit Okinawa when the islands were returned to Japan. Yet, for some reason, Hirohito continued to hesitate. In the summer of 1965 . . . the emperor was at a . . . press conference with the palace press corps. At one point he was asked, "Your Majesty has traveled throughout the country but still has not visited Okinawa. The Okinawan people themselves have said they'd like you to come. . ."

Hirohito parried, "You say I have traveled all over the country, but in fact I have not. I still haven't visited some of the Izu islands, Tsushima, the Goto Islands, and the Satsunan Islands. I should like to see all of them too." By way of putting an end to this line of questioning, he went on to say, "I have not heard anything about the Okinawan people wanting me to come. In any case, there are still problems with Okinawa's status, so I am unable to say at this time whether or not I will go."

His security people has been against a trip because revolutionary fervor was running high in Okinawa, and they feared a strong anti-imperial sentiment. On the other hand it seemed that it might actually be good policy for Hirohito to risk the trip, to thank the Okinawan people for their efforts on his behalf, and to pay his respects at the Himeyuri Pagoda war memorial. Still, it was Crown Prince Akihito who ended up making this initial visit, three years after Okinawa had been returned to Japanese control. . . .

As soon as he and Princess Michiko landed in Okinawa's largest city of Naha, they went first to the Himeyuri Pagoda. As husband and wife presented a bouquet of flowers at the monument and paused to observe a moment of silence, they were suddenly startled by the sound of Molotov cocktails and stones being thrown. Flames shot up around them. The attackers were two student extremists who had been hiding in a trench behind the memorial since the previous day. Akihito reacted to the incident with aplomb. He calmly paid his respects at two other memorial pagodas, and after making a condolence call on a group of relatives of the war dead, he gave a short speech that greatly moved the local people . . .

When the crown prince and his consort departed from Okinawa two days later, several thousand people came to give them a warm send-off at Naha Airport. But Emperor Hirohito himself never did visit Okinawa.

Source: Kawahara Toshiaki, *Hirohito and His Times: A Japanese Perspective* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1990), pp. 190-193. Used by permission of the author.

8

Japan Draws a Crowd: The 1964 Tokyo Olympics and 1970 World Expo

Introduction: In 1964, Japan achieved a major milestone in its re-creation as a modern nation. Japan's capital city, Tokyo, devastated in 1945, presented itself to the world as a modern city as host to the 1964 Olympics. The Olympics provided Japan, as a people and a nation, the opportunity to showcase a reconstructed national identity to the world. Based on Tokyo's success as the host city for the Olympics, Japan then won the honor of hosting the 1970 World Expo, another event that enabled Japan to present its postwar accomplishments and international stature. These two showcases were milestones in re-creating a modern nation and regaining international acceptance and respect.

Through images of art and architecture, this lesson engages students in examining Japan's emerging identity as a modern and peaceful member of the international community through the 1964 Olympics, as well as the nation's evolving confidence and international stature by 1970, a quarter century after the war's end.

Objectives: At the conclusion of this lesson, students will be able to:

1. Understand the context and significance of the 1964 Tokyo Olympics and 1970 World Expo for postwar Japan.
2. Analyze images of the 1964 Tokyo Olympics to recognize the significance of this event as the symbolic reemergence of Japan in the international arena.
3. Analyze art of the Olympic Arts Festival as a reflection of Japan's social, economic, and political goals and make inferences about the image Japan sought to convey.
4. Analyze images of the 1970 World Expo as a celebration of Japan's arrival as a world economic power.

Materials: Handouts 8A through 8C; Transparencies 8A through 8K (on unit CD-ROM); Transparency Script; computer and projector

Time Required: 2 class periods

Procedure:

Part I: The 1964 Olympics

1. Open the lesson by asking students what comes to their minds when they hear the phrase "the Olympic Games." *Students may describe the pageantry of the games, the opening ceremonies, the international participants who represent their nations, the attention given to the Games on television, and so on.* Post student comments on the board. Next, ask students why they think nations compete to have the Olympic games—what are the benefits to a nation in hosting the Games? *Students should be able to note the positive publicity for the country, which encourages tourism, the income to the country from such tourism, international respect, and so on.*

2. Inform students that in 1964, less than 20 years after it had been left a devastated and discredited nation at war's end and just 12 years after the Occupation ended, Japan hosted the Olympics in its national capital, Tokyo. Building on their knowledge of the early postwar years,

ask students to consider two questions: Why might it have been important to Japan to host the Olympics in 1964? What did Japan stand to gain from hosting the Olympics? *Students may be able to guess that Japan saw the Olympics as an opportunity to show the world how much progress it had made since the end of the war; that Japan saw the Olympics as an opportunity to show the major powers that "we are one of you"; that Japan saw the Olympics as a chance to erase its image as a defeated nation and as a warlike nation.*

3. Distribute Handout 8A and allow time for students to read it. Check for understanding by asking students to describe the significance to Japan of hosting the Olympics in 1964. Compare their answers with those hypothesized in step 2, above.

4. Next, inform students that they will now examine images of art and architecture from the 1964 Tokyo Olympics. Because of International Olympic Committee regulations, we are unable to reproduce the emblem of the Tokyo Olympics, which featured the symbol of Japan—the rising sun on a white background—above the Olympic rings. However, you might show the postal stamp issued in 2000 to commemorate the Tokyo Olympics, which can be found online at http://yushu.or.jp/english/e_sdate/00jpn/00comm/00jul21c2.html. The emblem can also be seen at the IOC website, as can a video of the opening ceremonies (http://www.olympic.org/uk/games/past/index_uk.asp?OLGT=1&OLGY=1964#). If you are able to project any of these images, ask: What does the image say about Japan in 1964? What impression of Japan is conveyed? *Students should recognize the red sun in the stamp and emblem as the emblem of Japan; in the stamp they may also notice the sun rising behind the Japanese runner carrying the Olympic flame. Through questioning, help students recognize a sense of national rebirth, pride, and strength conveyed through this image of a young athlete carrying the Olympic torch forward as the sun rises behind him.* Show students Transparencies 8A and 8B, again asking: What does the image say about Japan in 1964? What impression of Japan is conveyed? *Students will observe modern buildings and a freeway system; help them draw connections between these images and a sense of a new, modern Japan.*

5. Show the two transparencies again, using the Transparency Script as narration. After the presentation, ask students to work in pairs and, using the transparency images and script, to create a newspaper headline and one-paragraph story describing the national identity conveyed through these images. Ask half of the students to take the role of foreign reporters writing for newspapers back home on the Japan conveyed through these images. Have the other half take the role of Japanese reporters writing for newspapers outside Tokyo. Ask students to share their statements aloud, then attempt to arrive at a class consensus about a national identity being promoted via the 1964 Olympics. *Students may say that Japan is a proud, modern nation that has overcome its defeat in World War II.*

6. Inform students that, during the 1964 Olympics, an Olympic Arts Festival was held in Tokyo to showcase Japanese art forms. Japanese Olympic organizers saw the arts festival as a valuable opportunity to show the world that Japan was a "nation of culture." Based on what students know about the Tokyo Olympics and the efforts made to present a "new Japan" to the world through the Olympic Games, ask them to hypothesize about what kinds of art and art objects the festival organizers would choose to display. Ask students to explain their hypotheses. *Students may predict that the organizers would choose modern, recent art objects—painting and sculpture—that would highlight similarities between Japan and other modern nations; alternatively, students may predict that Japan would show fine examples of ancient art and art treasures as a means of highlighting Japan's long, rich cultural heritage.*

7. Tell students that they will now examine images of art objects displayed during the Olympic Arts Festival. Show Transparencies 8C through 8G. Ask students to describe what they

see: What is the object? How old do you think it is? Why do you think this object was chosen to be included in the arts festival?

8. For the second showing, use the Transparency Script for narration. After students have viewed the transparencies, ask them why they think organizers of the arts festival selected only ancient, aristocratic art for inclusion. Are students surprised by this choice? *Students may suggest that Japanese art of the late 19th and early 20th centuries was undistinguished, or not as impress-sive as earlier art; or that organizers had particular reasons for avoiding this art—for example, that it was tainted by association with imperialism and, later, war and defeat.*

9. Distribute Handout 8B. After students have read it, compare student reasoning in step 8 to organizers' reasons for selecting ancient art. How did the organizers' reasons fit with the goal of the Olympics as a showcase for a "re-created" Japan?

10. Using their knowledge of the 1964 Olympics and Arts Festival, ask students to add to or amend their description of Japanese national identity in 1964. How does their description change, given the art selected for the Olympic Arts Festival? Had the Japan of 1964 come to terms with its past? Did it project a sense of confidence about the future? What message was Japan conveying to the world about its sense of self? Ask students to share their descriptions aloud, then attempt to reach a class consensus about a national and nationally projected international image of Japan in 1964. *Students may describe Japan as a nation still troubled by its recent past, but proud if its ancient traditions and confident about the future.*

Part II: Expo '70

1. Inform students that because of Japan's successful staging of the 1964 Olympics, it won the honor of hosting the 1970 World Expo. Ask students if they are familiar with world's fairs or expositions. What is a world expo? What is its purpose? Through a brief discussion, help students understand that world expos are held periodically in major cities to showcase participating nations' new products and technological innovations and to promote international trade and cultural understanding.

2. Explain that Expo '70 offered another opportunity for Japan to present national images to the world. Have students read Handout 8C. As students read, ask them to form an impression of Japanese national identity six years after the 1964 Tokyo Olympics.

3. Discuss the reading with the class, asking: What message and image does the official Expo '70 song convey? Who within Japan is creating this image and message? Are the message and image aimed at an international audience, Japanese people, or both? *Students should be able to identify a national confidence from Japan in 1974: the song indicates that Japan believes it is on the cutting edge of technology and innovation and that its national destiny is to become a global superpower.*

4. Inform students that Tange Kenzo, the architect who designed the Olympic stadiums for the 1964 Tokyo Olympics, also headed the design committee for Expo '70. (Tange was also an important architect during the prewar and war years.) Ask students to use their knowledge of his work and the background information they read in Handout 8C to predict the style and architecture of the Expo fairgrounds and exhibit buildings. *Students may predict that the fairgrounds and buildings would be modern in design, created to impress the world with Japan's technological ingenuity and modernism.*

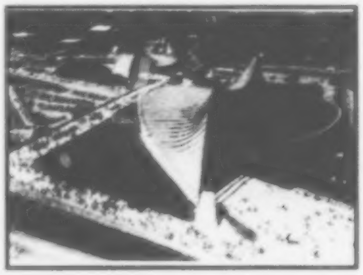
5. Using the Transparency Script as narration, show Transparencies 8H through 8K. At the end of the transparency show, go back to the student predictions from step 4. Did the images of Expo '70 match their predictions? Were students surprised by any of the images? Why or why not?

6. As a concluding activity, ask students to reflect on Japan's efforts to host the 1964 Tokyo Olympics and Expo '70. In a brief essay, ask students to describe Japan's evolving national identity from 1964 to 1970, as well as its evolving relationship with other industrial nations, as conveyed through these two international events.

Recommended Films: *Tokyo Olympiad 1964* (Ichikawa Kon, 1975) is a 165-minute documentary that provides an interesting study of the 15 days of athletic events and crowd reactions. Of particular interest are the symbol of the Games and Japan, footage of the destruction of the old buildings to make way for the Olympic Park, some of the impressive architectural designs, and the arrival of the various national teams. The path of the Olympic torch is traced from Greece through the Middle East and Asia to Japan, culminating with Sakai Yoshinori climbing the stairs to light the Olympic flame. Perhaps most moving is the large contingent of Japanese athletes marching proudly as the hosts in the opening parade of Olympians.

Transparency Script for Lesson 8

The first two transparencies show images of the 1964 Tokyo Olympics.



Transparency 8A: The Olympic stadium. In a 1964 letter to the editor of a Japanese newspaper, a Tokyo resident wrote, "Looking at the splendid Olympic facilities whose construction is now complete, the memories of the desolate autumn after the defeat of Japan come back to me and I am filled with deep emotion. Who could have imagined then the Japan of today?"

The two stadiums in this image, with their dramatic curving rooftops, were designed by Japan's leading modern architect of the time, Tange Kenzo. The rooftops are suspended from steel cables. The larger hall, the swimming arena, boasted the largest suspended roof in the world—a welded-steel net slung from two reinforced concrete masts and two 13-inch-thick steel cables. These buildings earned Tange a worldwide reputation for his ingenious blending of traditional Japanese architectural elements with a modernist, international style. Japanese could take pride in inviting the world to sporting events held in such magnificent, state-of-the-art arenas.

Transparency 8B: Olympic freeway. In the years leading up to the big event, the Tokyo area was transformed for the Olympics by the construction of "Olympic thoroughfares," built to ease traffic congestion and move crowds of visitors from the airport to new downtown hotels and Olympic sports arenas. Of all the building and preparation for the Olympics, the freeways produced the most lasting impact on Tokyo. The new freeways ran northward from Haneda Airport to the center of the city, and westward to the vicinity of the main Olympic stadium.

Introduction to Transparencies 8C-8G. Transparencies 8C through 8G present images from the Olympic Arts Festival. Arts festival organizers selected 877 items from Japan's ancient past for display. All of the objects, which included archaeological artifacts, sculptures, paintings, and crafts, were examples of art created for and used by Japan's noble families and court aristocrats dating no later than the Tokugawa period (1600-1867). Many of the items on display were officially designated Important Cultural Properties or National Treasures by the Japanese government.

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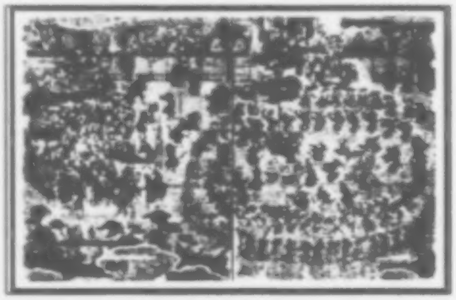
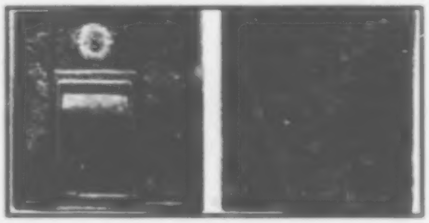
Transparency 8C: Landscape in Moonlight. The artist Rosetsu Nagasawa created this *sumi-e*, or ink painting, on silk fabric in the late 18th century. Borrowed from China centuries earlier, this style of landscape painting employs bold brushstrokes to capture the misty outlines of mountains, jagged cliffs, and trees.

Transparency 8D: Bow and Quiver: From Sacred Treasures of Wakamiya Shrine. This highly decorated bow and quiver set was created in the early 12th century, during Japan's Heian period. The bow is made of *tsuki* (zelkowa) wood and is adorned with an elaborate *maki-e*, or gold lacquer design, of peony flowers. The quiver is constructed of *shitan* (red sandalwood), and its rim is protected with bronze gilt. The quiver's flower design is made of inlaid mother-of-pearl and transparent beads. The owner of the bow and quiver, a court nobleman, donated the set to the Wakamiya Shrine in 1136.

Transparency 8E: Festival of the Hokoku Shrine. This pair of six-fold screens was painted in color on paper by Kano Naizen in 1604. What activities can you identify in this lively scene? The festival depicted in these screens observes the seventh anniversary of the death of Toyotomi Hideyoshi, a powerful warlord who completed Japan's political unification in 1590. The site of the festival is the Hokoku Jinja, or Hokoku Shrine, dedicated to the memory of Hideyoshi. The artist who painted these screens had once been an artist in his service.



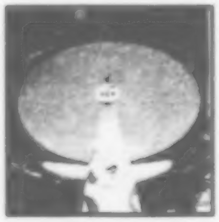
Transparency 8F: Writing Box with Calabash Design. This wooden writing box with gold lacquer design of a calabash, or gourd plant, was created in the 16th century, during the Muromachi period. On the left is the area for placing ink; the box's lid is on the right. This elaborate box combines polished gold lacquer, low-relief gold lacquer, and an inlay of sheet-metal cutouts. The box offers a glimpse of the elegant lifestyle of the aristocracy in the 16th century.



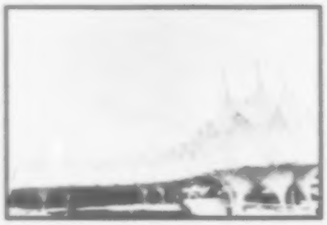
Transparency 8G: Genji Monogatari Emaki (Illustrated *Tale of Genji*). This 12th-century painting depicts a scene from the world's first novel, *The Tale of Genji*, written by Lady Murasaki during Japan's Heian period. The painting was cut from a scroll of illustrations from the novel. Conservators cut the fragile scroll into separate images to better preserve it. The artist's use of rich colors and perspective represents the best of 12th-century painting techniques.

Introduction to Transparencies 8H through 8K. The final four transparencies present images of Expo '70.

Transparency 8H: Aerial view of Expo '70 fairgrounds. This aerial view shows the 815-acre site of Expo '70, 10 miles northeast of Osaka. Japanese designers of the Expo grounds and buildings envisioned it as a "city of the future." A monorail circled the fairgrounds, and elevated moving walkways carried fairgoers through transparent tunnels linking the major attractions. Visible in the transparency are the Soviet Union's towering steel pavilion and the inflated structure that was the Fuji Group's 164-foot-high pavilion.



Transparency 8I: Tower of the Sun. The Tower of the Sun, standing 198 feet high, was the official symbol of Expo '70. The mammoth sculpture had three faces, which could be viewed from various angles on the fairgrounds. The "Golden Face" at the top of the tower was envisioned as a guardian deity of Expo '70. A sun was used as a symbol of the 1964 Olympics as well.



Transparency 8J: Telecommunications building. This yellow vinyl pavilion housed Japan's telecommunications exhibits at Expo '70. Describe this building. What does it look like to you? How do you think it would feel to be inside this building? Why?

Transparency 8K: The U.S. pavilion. This elliptical, partially underground structure housed American exhibits at Expo '70. The lowest pavilion at the fair, the U.S. design was seen by some American detractors to resemble a flat mushroom, a soggy waffle, and a burial mound. Inside were such attractions as a moon rock, American Indian silver work and pottery, and the lockers and uniforms of baseball greats Babe Ruth and Joe DiMaggio.

The 1964 Tokyo Olympics

Nineteen years after World War II ended, 12 years after the Occupation ended, Japan invited the world to Tokyo to attend the 18th Olympic Games. From October 10-24, 1964, 5,558 athletes from 94 countries competed in Olympic sports, while 1,975,000 people from all over the world attended the Games in a Tokyo transformed for the occasion. How did Japan win the honor of hosting the Games so soon after the war? What did the honor mean to Japan as a nation?

Japan had been scheduled to host the 1940 Olympic Games but had backed out due to the demands of its war in China. During World War II, Japan was ejected as a member of the International Olympic Committee (IOC). In 1948 the IOC reinstated Japan; four years later Japan was again allowed to send athletes to compete in the Olympics. That same year, 1952, the Tokyo metropolitan government began to discuss the possibility of bringing the Olympics to Japan. Tokyo made an unsuccessful bid to host the 1960 Olympics; a second bid proved successful when Tokyo beat out Detroit, Vienna, and Brussels to win the 1964 Olympics. In this bid, the Japanese delegation to the 1959 IOC meeting argued that the Olympics could not be considered truly international until they had been held in Asia. This argument proved to be important. More important to the IOC, however, was the Cold War context for these Olympic Games. A newly modern, peaceful, and democratic Japan could serve as a model for Asia's developing nations, in contrast to the Communist model in China.

Japan's wooing of the Olympic Games can be seen as part of a larger effort to "normalize" relations with the world following Japan's devastating defeat in World War II. In spite of a military alliance with the United States and a restored national economy, Japan continued to feel isolated from the international community. Indeed, the peace treaty Japan signed did not include India, China, and the USSR. The Olympics offered Japan a tremendous opportunity to show visitors and a mass international TV audience a new Japan, one that was modern, peaceful, and ready to be accepted among the world's "advanced nations." To that end, the Japanese government and millions of ordinary citizens invested enormous sums of money to upgrade Tokyo's sewer and highway systems and to build Olympic-class stadiums. Citizens participated in urban cleanup and beautification efforts, while metropolitan police cracked down on crime in the capital city. Outside Tokyo, huge funds were spent to develop the ultra-high-speed *Shinkansen*, or bullet train line, linking Tokyo with Osaka, Japan's second largest city. By the time of the Olympic opening ceremonies, Japan could be proud of its extraordinary efforts to bring the Games to Tokyo and to show the world a thoroughly modern, technologically advanced nation.

In the modern Olympic games, a succession of torchbearers run through the host country, until the final runner lights the flame in the Olympic stadium. That flame remains lit for the duration of the Games. Sakai Yoshinori was chosen to be the final Olympic torchbearer because of his dramatic personal story. He was born on August 6, 1945—the day the atomic bomb was dropped—several miles from Hiroshima. In 1964, Sakai was the embodiment of a strong, young, and proud athlete. At the same time, he represented a new generation of postwar Japanese, who arose from the ashes of the most devastated city of a ruined country.

The Tokyo Olympic Arts Festival

Arts festivals became a feature of the modern Olympics in 1912. Previous Olympic arts festivals had shown art portraying the beauty of the human body engaged in sports. Japanese organizers of the 1964 Games requested a change: they wished to exhibit Japan's artistic traditions in the 1964 Olympic Arts Festival. The International Olympic Committee agreed to this request, deciding that, from 1964 on, Olympic arts festivals would showcase the host country's artistic tradition.

Prior to the festival, a new Japanese art journal, *Cultural Properties Monthly*, suggested that Japan should use the arts festival to "correct the shallow image of Japan held by Westerners . . . providing them with a more accurate understanding of the important traits most prized by Japanese, that is, the spirit and culture of Japan." Japan's Commission for the Protection of Cultural Properties, the exhibit's organizers, agreed. It would use the arts festival to enhance Japan's image as a nation of culture. To encourage attendance at the festival, organizers allowed Olympic athletes and the international press to attend the exhibits free of charge. Organizers hoped to attract 20,000 foreign visitors to the event. The total number of paying visitors reached 392,303, which included Japanese and foreign visitors alike.

Given the opportunity to influence Western images of Japan, why did organizers choose to display only ancient Japanese art? The answer is linked with Japan's efforts to frame a new national identity after the war and Occupation. By excluding art from Japan's recent past, organizers could avoid addressing difficult aspects of Japan's recent history, including its war with China, its establishment of an empire in Asia, and its ultimate defeat in World War II. The "New Japan" that emerged after the war could thus be seen as grounded in a harmonious, elegant past. The Japan portrayed in the Olympic Arts Festival was a peaceful nation with a centuries-old tradition of culture and beauty.

The 1964 Tokyo Olympics, with its modern stadiums and freeways, and the Olympic Arts Festival, with its display of ancient Japanese art forms, allowed Japan to present itself to the world as a nation of both progress and culture.

Source: Adapted from Noriko Aso, "Sumptuous Re-past: The 1964 Tokyo Olympics Arts Festival." Paper presented at the 1997 Association for Asian Studies conference.

Expo '70

For six months, Japan hosted in Osaka an international extravaganza called Expo '70. One purpose of the exposition was to showcase technological innovations and traditional arts and culture of many nations. For Japan, Expo '70 had an additional significance. It offered an opportunity for Japan to celebrate its arrival as a world economic power. Japan spent a record $2.3 billion to put on a magnificent, futuristic spectacle. At Expo '70's opening ceremonies on March 14, before a crowd of 12,000 people representing 77 nations, a parade of entertainers and dignitaries sang the official Expo '70 song:

> Look upward, look upward
> Sunlight pours on you
> Raise your eyebrows, raise your hands
> Let's summon the future here.[1]

Japan's dramatic economic growth and newfound prowess at international trade served as the backdrop for this world's fair, the first to be held in an Asian nation. In March 1970, *Newsweek* magazine reported admiringly that "Japan has already come a long way, in an economic miracle whose impact has already been blunted by familiarity. From the shambles of defeat in 1945, the Japanese economy boomed past France, Britain and Germany to become second in the free world last year."[2]

Given Japan's runaway trading success, Western exhibitors at Expo '70 saw the event as an opportunity to cut into Japan's vast domestic market. Indeed, foreign exhibitors at the Expo strove to impress their host country with their elaborate and modern exhibit halls and with the wonders of modern technology displayed inside.

A month before Expo '70 began, Japan's prime minister, Sato Eisaku, told the Japanese Diet that the decade of the 1970s would see Japan's national power carrying unprecedented weight in world affairs. It was that sense of Japan's destiny that served as a backdrop for Expo '70.

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[1] Translated by Richard Minear.
[2] "Japan, Salesman to the World," *Newsweek* (March 9, 1970), p. 64.

9

Society in Transition: Focus on Women in the Workplace

Introduction: The period following World War II brought significant changes to the legal status of Japanese women. Chief among these changes was Article 14 of the Japanese Constitution of 1947, which stated that "All of the people are equal under the law and there shall be no discrimination in political, economic or social relations because of race, creed, sex, social status or family origin." Also important was Article 26: "All people shall have the right to receive an equal education correspondent with their ability, as provided by law." Accordingly, sexual equality became the guideline for revision of the civil code, especially laws relating to elections, labor, and education. More recently, passage of the Equal Employment Opportunity Law in 1985 (effective 1986) buttressed equal rights in the workplace.

Legislative mandates aside, the question remains: To what extent did legal measures affect Japanese society during the postwar? Were these legal prescriptions reflected in women's participation in such arenas as employment, family life, politics, and government? In this lesson, students explore the postwar status of Japanese women as manifested not only in legislation and structural changes, but also through male/female interactions in society, with a particular focus on Japanese women in the workplace. The ascribed role of women in postwar Japan—that is, wives and mothers—is examined as a powerful traditional force that affects the workplace.

It is important to keep in mind that the time period covered in this lesson is 1945-1989. The information therefore does not necessarily reflect the contemporary situation in Japan. Also, the complexity of the topic under examination must be stressed. Women in postwar Japan assumed a number of social and biological roles in their culture that were additionally enmeshed in a matrix of legislative mandates. Facile assessment of the postwar status of Japanese women is neither possible nor productive. Teachers using this lesson are encouraged to highlight the multifaceted roles of Japanese women as portrayed in other lessons, such as Lessons 4 and 6.

Objectives: At the conclusion of this lesson, students will be able to:

1. Identify causes, characteristics, and repercussions of structural, legal, and societal changes regarding the role of Japanese women in the workplace during the postwar period.
2. Analyze and discuss gender aspirations and realities as reflected in literature of the period.
3. Understand the difference between legislative mandate and traditional practices.
4. Discuss the importance and tenacity of ascribed roles in society.

Time Required: 2 class periods plus homework

Materials: Background Notes and Handouts 9A through 9D

Procedure:

1. Begin the lesson by asking students what they know about the roles of Japanese women in their society. Ask students to quickly brainstorm everything they know and then more carefully examine their lists for clues regarding the status of Japanese women. What is their

hypothesis? Can they make a judgment regarding whether Japanese women have legal status equal to that of men? What information is necessary in order to make such a judgment? *Students should be able to cite necessary informational items such as statistics, laws, customs, tradition, research studies, observations, and books.*

Share with students the historical information about Japanese women provided in the **Background Notes**. This information can be the basis of a teacher lecture or can be photocopied and distributed to students as a homework reading assignment.

2. Next, tell students that they will be examining changes in the roles of Japanese women during the postwar period, 1945-1989. Specifically, students will be trying to assess the equality of Japanese women in relationship to men. In particular, students will focus on Japanese women in the workplace.

Distribute Handout 9A, assigning students to read through the speech excerpt and interviews. Next, ask students to work in small groups to find evidence of any tension between the ascribed role of Japanese women as wives, mothers, and full-time household managers and their acceptance as equals in the workplace. Explain that the ascribed role for Japanese women is basically what society, because of custom and tradition, expects of them. *Students should be able to identify the prejudicial attitude of the company president in his speech and to cite numerous examples from the individual interviews.*

3. Remind students of the historical information about Japanese women learned earlier. Even though laws were passed in the postwar period, change was—and in the eyes of some continues to be—slow. Explain that literature can often provide a window on society by exploring relationships and attitudes in a culture at any given period of time. Provide copies of Handout 9B, which presents the short story "Spring Storm," to students for homework reading; ask them to complete the study questions as homework as well. Explain that this short story by Mori Yoko was part of a collection published in 1984-1985; it also appeared in a popular weekly magazine. Mori was born in 1940 and describes herself as "a complete devotee of things Western" who, as a young woman, read such writers as Sartre, Camus, de Beauvoir, and Françoise Sagan. According to Ueda Makoto, the central character in Mori's stories is usually a mature Japanese woman, one who has outgrown dependence on her families, employers, or friends.[1]

4. Discuss the answers to the study questions (an **Answer Key** is provided). Ask students to assess reactions of the female and male characters to changes in women's status and aspirations. Students should be able to cite specific passages to support their ideas. Encourage students to analyze the story's portrayal of male and female relationships generally. Point out that the postwar period brought sweeping changes. Quote to students or display on an overhead Articles 14 and 26 of the Japanese Constitution of 1947 (see **Introduction**). Confirm that, despite constitutional provisions and other laws, societal attitudes were difficult to change.

5. Ask students if they think additional women in the workforce might lead to changes in the roles of Japanese women. Remind them that changes often bring challenges, such as achieving equal treatment in the workplace. Explain to students that, during the postwar period, more and more Japanese women entered the workforce. On an overhead, draw the letter M, explaining that this represents the M-shaped curve, the pattern that evolved as greater numbers of Japanese women entered the workplace. According to this pattern, the two peak periods of

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[1] Makoto Ueda, ed., *The Mother of Dreams and Other Short Stories: Portrayals of Women in Modern Japanese Fiction* (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1986), p. 122.

employment for women in the postwar period were in their early 20s and mid/late 40s. The dip in the M occurred when women typically left the workplace during their childbearing years, usually ages 25 to 35.

6. Explain to students that gradually during the postwar period the dip in the M flatened somewhat as increasing numbers of women remained in the workplace. This, in turn, led to an examination of workplace equality and passage of the Equal Employment Opportunity Law. Distribute copies of Handout 9C, explaining to students that many have criticized this law as being weak and somewhat ineffectual. Organize the students into small groups and ask each group to examine and analyze the law carefully, making a list of any weaknesses they detect as well as any potential workplace conflicts not addressed in the law. Ask each group to share its findings. *Students should be able to list weaknesses such as lack of punitive measures (for example, fines or jail sentences). Also, there are no guidelines regarding social interactions and attitudes that pertain to sexual harassment issues. Issues such as gender-specific job descriptions in ads and sexual discrimination in employment, deployment, promotion, and job training at the workplace are not addressed.*

7. Confirm with students that overcoming decades of tradition and custom regarding the role of women is difficult, as is enacting legislation that will address all the various challenges that might arise as Japanese women seek equality in the workplace. Next, explain to students that they will be examining a document set for evidence of the ascribed role of Japanese women. Remind students that they discussed aspects of these ascribed roles earlier in the lesson. Distribute copies of Handout 9D, asking each group to make a list of expectations for Japanese women as reflected in each item in their document set. Point out that each item represents a particular time during the postwar period. After each group has had a chance to share its findings, discuss with students the tug-of-war that exists between legislative mandates and the ascribed roles in a society. Bring closure to the lesson by reminding students that, although devoid of any formal sanction, some societal practices and traditions have a strength and endurance that often surpass those of formal law.

Recommended Films: Film is an excellent medium for looking at the changing roles of women in the postwar period. The following are just a few of many possibilities. *Mother* (Naruse Mikio, 1952) is about the role of the mother in the survival of the family in the aftermath of the war. The film is quite accessible and appropriate for students, especially because it is framed and narrated by the family's teenage daughter. An alternative to showing the entire film is to give students an overview of the story and character relationships and then to view the opening, selected clips, and the conclusion. This would allow students to discuss what constitutes the "ideal mother" and the simultaneously beautiful and terrifying ideal of complete, selfless devotion to the family and children. They might also understand Naruse's view that such women played a vital role in the postwar survival and recovery of Japanese society.

The classic *Tokyo Story* (Ozu Yasujiro, 1953), regarded by some critics and scholars as one of the greatest films ever made, provides a sensitive study of the decline of the traditional multigenerational family, its relationships, and its values. Ozu deemphasized dramatic plot and action, making instead a slow, careful study of family relationships and activities. In the movie, the parents journey from their home in traditional Onomichi to modern Tokyo to visit their "successful" children. They find their children have changed and, though polite, are too busy for them. The parents return home, and the mother dies of a heart attack. The final 22 minutes deal with the mother's funeral and the departure of the grown children, leaving the aged father alone. Through dialogue between a daughter and daughter-in-law deeply affected by the mother's death interspersed with shots of the graveyard and passing boats and trains, Ozu suggests the passing of the traditional family and its way of life.

Two 1980s films could supplement this lesson. One is *Taxing Woman* (Itami Juzo, 1984). It presents a young to middle-aged woman, a divorcée, struggling to support herself and her five-year-old as a tax inspector. In a position usually open only to men, she must compete with and go beyond them in pursuing and catching tax evaders. She is for 1980s Japan a new kind of woman who, while retaining feminine charm, achieves a proud independence and respect. Because the film contains a few scenes inappropriate for young students, clips are recommended. Minutes 36 through 53 and 118 through 125 bring the woman into conflict with the master tax evader and develop the themes of the dehumanizing effects of money worship and the difficulties a woman has trying to establish her own identity and live in male-dominated society.

A second 1987 film is *Tampopo* (Itami Juzo, 1987). Only portions of the film are appropriate for classroom use, but it is worth previewing the film and selecting segments that shoot down stereotypes about Japanese women. Dubbed the "first noodle Western," *Tampopo* parodies American westerns and Japanese samurai films. It follows the life of a young widow who runs a small noodle restaurant and her quest for the perfect bowl of ramen.

Many documentaries could also support study of women's changing roles in postwar Japan. Several titles in the *Video Letters from Japan* (Asia Society, 1988-1991) would be helpful in looking at women in the 1980s. For example, *The Early Working Years* features young people working for corporations or small companies, living either in company dorms or with parents. Of particular relevance is the study of a young woman architect determined to succeed in her career. *The Young Family* presents the daily routine of a 34-year-old mother of three: she gets the children off to school, cleans the house, shops for food, manages the family finances, attends PTO and neighborhood association functions. Most revealing, however, are minutes 18 through 21, her night out with two other women. One is single, the editor of a woman's magazine; the other, a divorced mother with one child. As they discuss their classmates, viewers are given a representative profile of the lives of young women in 1980s Japan. Finally, *Options for Women at Mid-Life* profiles a 47-year-old woman and mother of three grown children. Her relationships with her mother-in-law and her daughters reveal the increasing independence of Japanese women at the end of the postwar period.

Faces of Japan: The Story of Noriko (TeleJapan USA, 1986) is a superb profile of a young Japanese woman who represents the changing roles of Japanese women evident in the 1980s. *The Story of Noriko* is the story of young women attempting to break away from the expectations imposed on them by tradition and families. While Noriko achieves a degree of independence, the end of the video reveals subtly that she, like other women in the workforce, must still struggle against the inequities of male-dominated companies and society.

Additional Sources:

Nakamura, Akemi, "Fighting Bias, but with Kid Gloves—New Equal Opportunity Law Called a Start," *The Japan Times* (April 1, 1999), p. 3.

Wojtan, Linda S., "Women and the Law: The Tug of War Between Law and Custom," *Update on Law-Related Education* (Fall 1982), pp. 14-16.

The Status of Women in Japanese History

The following is a brief overview of some periods in Japanese history; it is not intended to provide a comprehensive discussion of the status of women throughout Japanese history.

In the course of Japan's history, the status of women has gone through ups and downs. According to Japan's creation myth, the Imperial family is directly descended from Amaterasu, the sun goddess. This myth bestowed on women a high status. From the 2nd through 8th centuries CE, a number of females ruled Japan.

A combination of philosophical influence and social and economic factors accounted for changes in women's status in the 12th and 13th centuries. Confucian philosophy, adopted by the Japanese from China, ranked all people hierarchically and relegated women to a position inferior to men. Women's status was summed up in the Confucian dictum of "Triple Obedience": in youth, females obey their fathers; in marriage, their husbands; and in old age, their sons.

In Japan's feudal period, which began around 1200 CE, the samurai warrior came to embody the ideal human being. Accordingly, women became less influential and their freedom was restricted. Women lost previously enjoyed rights of inheritance and property ownership. The role for women evolved into one of subservience, devotion, and loyalty to their masters.

During the Tokugawa period (1600-1867), a woman's role was primarily viewed as that of wife and mother. Marriage was viewed as the union of families rather than of individuals. Women's personal preferences, and in many cases those of men, were subjugated to family goals, status, and reputation in identifying suitable marriage partners. While their social and economic rights were significantly curtailed during this period, women did wield significant power within their households.

Following the Meiji Restoration (1868), Japan industrialized. Women assumed an economic role as they began to take jobs in factories. Although industrialization made women more visible within the society and economy, they enjoyed little enhancement in status. In fact, legally, their rights were curtailed. In a series of laws enacted in 1890, women were denied membership in political parties and even entrance into the Parliament building. Given their social role as wives and mothers, public education was not considered necessary for women. Women protested discriminatory Japanese customs and laws in the late 1800s and early 1900s. However, few changes were realized.

The military dictatorship, which came to power in the 1930s, continued to support the Confucian tradition of women as wives and mothers. Women enjoyed few economic or political rights, even though they filled important, though menial, positions in agriculture and industry, in addition to their duties at home. Following World War II, the Japanese Constitution and Civil Code were revised under the direction of American Occupation forces. With these revisions, Japanese women gained the right to vote, to obtain equal public education, to attend public universities, to inherit and hold property, and to enter into marriage only by mutual consent. Today their social and political status continues to change, although very gradually.

Source: Barbara Miller and Lynn S. Parisi, *Individual Rights in International Perspective: Lessons on Canada, Mexico, Japan, and Nigeria* (Boulder, CO: SSEC, 1992), p. 209.

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Answer Key for Lesson 9

Handout 9B:

1. *There is a general tension between a woman's career aspirations and the traditional ascribed role as wife at home.*

2. *The traditional role of the husband as the main breadwinner. In the story the husband gives examples of other marriages that go awry when the wife's career success exceeds that of her husband. He implies that husbands lose their individual identity when this happens.*

3. *The wife is ready to embrace change and seek ways to cope with it, but the husband is afraid of change and foresees only negative results.*

4. *At first she is amazed that she beat 34 rivals, but soon she is bursting with joy. Her elation regarding her new status withers when she comes home and realizes she cannot share her joy with her husband.*

5. *His role as head of the household is threatened by his wife's promised success. As a struggling scriptwriter, he thinks he will be eclipsed by his wife's success.*

6. *Great tension is created by Natsuo's being cast in the musical. The ending suggests they will resolve the tension by divorcing.*

7. *The existing relationship seems to be grounded in traditional expectations. Natsuo initially lies to her husband out of fear that he will not be able to cope with her success.*

Attitudes Toward Women in the Workplace: Japan in the 1980s

In the 1980s, 85 percent of Japanese women in the 20- to 24-year-old group wanted to work, and 70 percent of them did work outside the home. These numbers dropped in the 30- to 34-year-old group (to 80 percent and 50 percent, respectively), only to climb again after the age of 40 (to over 80 percent and the high 60 percent range, respectively).

What were the consequences of this pattern of working women—for themselves, for their families, for the economy? We can't answer all those questions, but interviews with blue-collar working women in the mid-1980s provide some insights. These women worked for a company in Tokyo. Among the trying conditions they faced was the company president's strong belief that there was something wrong about women working. Below is part of a speech he made (via video) to all company employees. It is followed by excerpts from interviews with women workers, most of whom had only the compulsory education, through junior high school. The interviewer asked how they think their husbands and children feel about their working.

The Company President's Speech

> . . . in the background [behind the men in the foreground in Japan's past], there were always the women, who, with firm hand, maintained the household and brought up the children, encouraging their husbands and sharing their hardships. One could say that men were like *bunraku*[1] puppets, always on center stage, but there is someone who makes the puppets dance. In Japan the men were the puppets who were made to dance, and in the shadows were the wonderful, staunch women. . . . The postwar recovery, which required tremendous strength, is also due to such women. . .
>
> Nowadays, women have totally changed. The women who had had a wonderful tradition and extraordinary strength have now begun to decline. . . . They no longer maintain the household. They dislike raising children. This is what it has come to. . . . Today, who is going to maintain the household? I think that Japan has already started on the road to ruin, since so few people are alert to this. Unless women awaken and take hold of themselves, more and more good women will be made fools by these new social trends.

Interviews with Women Workers

Ms. Hanami (30 years old, 12 years' experience; recently married but without children): My husband wishes I'd stay at home, even without kids. He does give his OK, however, since we just barely make living expenses as it is, with our combined salaries. Rent is expensive.

Ms. Nishitani (married, with two children, and pregnant with a third): He [my husband] probably thinks I don't appreciate him. If on occasion I'm tired and can't do the housework, he doesn't say,

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Source: Glenda S. Roberts, *Staying on the Line: Blue-Collar Women in Contemporary Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1994), pp. 160-167. Used by permission.

[1] A form of puppet theater that has flourished since the 17th century; it features puppets being manipulated by puppeteers who appear on stage in black robes.

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"Do this" or "Do that." Even in regard to the children, if I say, "Boy, am I tired today!" he'll say, "Shall we eat out?" I think he probably doesn't like it. He probably thinks I have absolutely no appreciation of him. He seems to keep his feelings back.

Ms. Usui (31 years old, with two children; she started work at age 15 and holds a supervisory position): He seems to take it OK because we can't make it on his salary alone. At first I promised that it would only be the first three years of our marriage, but we can't live in our present house—because we have two kids, and there's no space. So he's come to terms with it, I think.

Ms. Koga (age 30, with 15 years of experience; married with two children): It's a given [that I work]. [Does her husband support the idea?] Yes. Because he knows we couldn't make do if I quit. Sometimes I say, "It's only proper for a man to provide for his wife." I get lazy and he says, "Do such and such," because he doesn't want to do it. In those cases I say, "OK. OK then. I'll quit work, and you support me." Then he says, "Come on now!"

Ms. Hasegawa (mother of two married daughters and at 52 close to retirement age): He thinks that women turn into loudmouths when they work. Because you get tired—after work. It'd be great if I could listen and do whatever he tells me to, saying "Yes, yes," but I go and say, "But I'm so tired already!" Therefore he probably is somewhat unhappy about it. But since I'm making money for us . . . he's quiet about it. But when women work, they always get uppity.

[About her children] Hmmm . . . they say I yell too much. I get mad. They say if I were taking it easy at home I wouldn't get mad. Naturally, when they make demands on me in spite of the fact that I come home tired out, I end up just saying whatever I feel like off the top of my head.

Ms. Fujii (age 28, two children, 13 years on the job): [Is her husband supportive?] Not especially. [Does he complain?] No, he doesn't. If I say I'm tired or I'm busy, he always says, "If you're tired, then why don't you quit?" But he's just saying that. He doesn't really mean it. I guess he thinks if I want to work, then it's OK by him.

[Her children] They don't say anything much. But when they say they don't like going to day care, I say, "Mother is going to go to work and do her best, so you do your best, too!" and we spur each other on, each going to work or day care. If you work, it becomes an encouragement to them, it seems. If you're just at home lazily looking after the kids, neither mother nor child grows. Because your knowledge is limited—what can one parent teach a child? But at nursery school, many different teachers with varied knowledge teach the children all sorts of things—more than a parent teaches. So parents aren't quite as good. They end up having a lot of teachers, but I think that's good for the children.

Ms. Kamida (37 years old, with 22 years' experience; married with two children): If I bring home my troubles when I'm tired, he tells me to quit. In our case, I'm working because I like to, not because there's any special financial difficulty. I want to work, so I do, but if I say anything, he says, "Then quit and be done with it." So I don't bring that up at home. I don't mention that I'm tired, and I don't bring up my gripes. Therefore, I don't talk about company matters at all . . .

[The children] They understand. I do things for them. It wouldn't do for people to talk about them because they have a working mother, so I do my best to wash their clothes. If I had them wear anything dirty they'd be talked about—so I have them wear clean things, and on vacations I take them places, since usually I'm not around.

[Housework] Sometimes I have them help. The older one is very nice and does anything. She spreads out the bedding for Grandma, and so on. Today she did my hair, see? With the dryer. She's so nice. That's why everyone comments on how gentle they've been brought up to be. Despite my working. After all, they were left to themselves. I guess the kids know that, since their parents are working, they have to be responsible. So I guess they have an independence about them already. They even say I needn't come and watch their classes anymore, since I have to take off time from work.

Ms. Ogawa (43 years old, 10 years on the job; married, with two children): Well, buying a house was why I went to work. So I had to work. The children knew it. The older one was a fifth-grader and the younger was a second-grader. They were pretty understanding and did things around the house for me. So they didn't object to my working. But my older child—that was just about the time he was beginning to make his own judgments and become independent. I think he must have been lonesome for a while. I had him babysit for his younger brother during the summer and winter vacations. I had him take him roller skating . . . and he had to look after him in Boy Scouts. That was a big burden on the elder child, and after he started junior high, for a while he ran off the track. I guess I didn't give him enough love . . . I think now he was lonely then. Since I had him take care of the younger one. I haven't actually told him, but I think it was bad of me.

Spring Storm

Read the short story "Spring Storm" and answer the questions below.

1. How does the story illustrate aspects of change in women's roles in Japan?
2. Which traditional customs or practices still seem to be in place? Which ones are changing and how?
3. What perspectives on change are presented in the story?
4. How does the main female character feel about her role and status?
5. How does the main male character feel about his role and status?
6. What tensions, if any, are created by the changing roles for women? How are they addressed or resolved?
7. Describe the existing relationship between the man and the woman.

Spring Storm

by Mari Yoko

The small orange light on the lobby wall showed the elevator was still at the seventh floor. Natsuo's eyes were fixed on it.

From time to time her heart pounded furiously, so furiously that it seemed to begin skipping beats. For some time now she had been wild with excitement.

Intense joy is somewhat like pain, she thought. Or like a dizzy spell. Strangely, it was not unlike grief. The suffocating feeling in her chest was almost unbearable.

The elevator still had not moved from the seventh floor.

The emergency stairway was located alongside the outer walls of the building, completely exposed to the elements. Unfortunately for Natsuo, it was raining outside. There was a wind, too.

A spring storm. The words, perhaps romantic, well described the heavy, slanting rain, driven by a wind that had retained the rawness of winter. If Natsuo were to climb the stairs to the sixth floor, she would be soaked to the skin. She took a cigarette from her handbag and lit it.

This is unusual for me, she thought. She had never smoked while waiting for the elevator. Indeed, she had not smoked anywhere while standing up.

Exhaling the smoke from the depths of her throat, she fell to thinking. I'll be experiencing all kinds of new things from now on. I've just come a big step up the ladder. No, not just one. I've jumped as many as ten steps in one leap. There were thirty-four rivals, and I beat them all.

All thirty-four people were well-experienced performers. There was a dancer with considerably more skill than hers. Physically also the odds were against her: There were a sizable number of women with long, stylish legs and tight, shapely waists. One Eurasian woman had such alluring looks that everyone admired her. There were professional actresses currently active on the stage, too.

In spite of everything, Natsuo was the one selected for the role.

When the agency called to tell her the news, she at first thought she was being teased.

"You must be kidding me," she said, a little irritated. She had indeed taken it for a bad joke. "You can't trick me like this. I don't believe you."

"Let me ask you a question, then," responded the man who had been acting as her manager. In a teasing voice, he continued, "Were you just kidding when you auditioned for that musical?"

Source: Mori Yoko, "Two Bedtime Stories: Spring Storm," translated by Ueda Makoto, in Ueda Makoto, ed., *The Mother of Dreams and Other Short Stories: Portrayals of Women in Modern Japanese Fiction* (New York and Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1986), pp.125-132. Used by permission of Kodansha International.

"Of course not!" she retorted. She had been quite serious and, although she would not admit it, she had wanted the role desperately. At the audition, she had done her very best.

"But I'm sure I didn't make it," she said to her manager. "At the interview, I blushed terribly."

Whenever she tried to express herself in front of other people, blood would rush to her face, turning it scarlet.

"You're a bashful person, aren't you?" one of her examiners had commented to her at the interview. His tone carried an objective observation rather than sympathetic inquiry.

"Do you think you're an introvert?" another examiner asked.

"I'm probably on the shy side," Natsuo answered, painfully aware that her earlobes had turned embarrassingly red and her palms were moist.

"The heroine of this drama," added the third examiner, "is a spirited woman with strong willpower. Do you know that?"

Natsuo had sensed the skepticism that was running through the panel of examiners. Without doubt she was going to fail the test, unless she did something right now. She looked up.

"It's true that I'm not very good at expressing myself, or speaking up for myself, in front of other people. But playing a dramatic role is something different. It's very different." She was getting desperate. "I'm very bashful about myself. But I'm perfectly all right when I play someone else."

If I am to express someone else's emotion, I have no reason to be shy, she confirmed to herself. I can calmly go about doing the job.

"Well, then, would you please play someone else?" the chief examiner said, with a nod toward the stage.

Natsuo retired to the wings of the stage and tried to calm herself. When she trotted out onto the stage and confidently faced them, she was no longer a timid, blushing woman.

It was impossible to guess, though, how the examiners appraised her performance. They showed little, if any, emotion. When the test was over there was a chorus of murmured "Thank you's." That was all.

Her manager was still speaking on the phone. "I don't know about the third-raters. But I can tell you that most good actors and actresses are introverted, naive, and always feeling nervous inside."

He then added, "If you don't believe me, why don't you go to the office of that production company and find out for yourself?"

Natsuo decided to do just that.

At the end of a dimly lit hallway, a small group of men and women were looking at a large blackboard. Most of the board was powdered with half-obliterated previous scribblings, but at the top was written the cast of the new musical, with the names of the actors and actresses selected for the roles.

Natsuo's name was second from the top. It was scrawled in a large, carefree hand. The name at the top was her co-star, a well-known actor in musicals.

Natsuo stood immobile for ten seconds or so, staring at her name on the blackboard. It was her own name, but she felt as if it belonged to someone else. Her eyes still fixed on the name, she moved a few steps backwards. Then she turned around and hurried out of the building. It never occurred to her to stop by the office and thank the staff.

Sheer joy hit her a little later.

It was raining, and there was wind, too. She had an umbrella with her, but she walked without opening it. Finally realizing the fact, she stopped to unfold the umbrella.

"I did it!" she cried aloud. That was the moment. An incomparable joy began to rise up inside her, like the bubbles crowding to exit from a champagne bottle; and not just joy, pain as well, accompanied by the flow and ebb of some new irritation. That was how she experienced her moment of victory.

When she came to, she found herself standing in the lobby of her apartment building. The first person she wanted to tell the news to was, naturally, her husband Yusuke.

The elevator seemed to be out of order. It was not moving at all. How long had she been waiting there? Ten minutes? A couple of minutes? Natsuo had no idea. Her senses had been numbed. A round clock on the wall showed 9:25. Nasuo gave up and walked away.

The emergency stairway that zigzagged upwards was quite steep and barely wide enough for one person, so Natsuo could not open her umbrella. She climbed up the stairs at a dash.

By the time she reached the sixth floor, her hair was dripping wet and, with no raincoat on, her dress, too, was heavy with rain.

But Natsuo was smiling. Drenched and panting, she was still beaming with an excess of happiness when she pushed the intercom buzzer of their apartment.

"Why are you grinning? You make me nervous," Yusuke said as he let her in. "You're soaking wet, too."

"The elevator never came."

"Who would have considered using the emergency stairs in this rain!"

"This apartment is no good with a stairway like that," Natsuo said with a grin. "Let's move to a better place."

"You talk as if that were something very simple," Yusuke laughed wryly and tossed a terry robe to her.

"But it is simple."

"Where would we find the money?"

"Just be patient. We'll get the money very soon," Natsuo said cheerfully, taking off her wet clothes.

"You passed the audition, didn't you?" Yusuke asked, staring intently at her face. "Didn't you?"

The young man had a strangely intense expression on his face. It was almost like despair.

Natsuo stared back at him. He looked nervous, holding his breath and waiting for her answer.

"Natsuo, did you pass the audition?" As he asked again, his face collapsed, his shoulders fell. He looked utterly forlorn.

"How . . .," she answered impulsively, "how could I have passed? I was just kidding."

Yusuke frowned. "You failed?"

"I was competing with professionals, you know—actresses with real stage experience. How could I have beaten them?" Natsuo named several contending actresses.

"You didn't pass?" Yusuke repeated, his frown deepening. "Answer me clearly, please. You still haven't told me whether you have passed."

"What a mean person you are!" Natsuo stuttered. "You must have guessed by now, but you're forcing me to spell it out." Her eyes met his for a moment. "I didn't make it," she said, averting her eyes. "I failed with flying colors."

There was silence. Wiping her wet hair with a towel, Natsuo was aghast and mystified at her lie.

"No kidding,"said Yusuke, starting to walk toward the kitchen. "I was in a state of shock for a minute, really."

"How come? Were you so sure I wouldn't make it?" Natsuo spoke to him from behind, her tone a test of his sincerity.

"You were competing with professionals." There was now a trace of consolation in his voice. "It couldn't be helped. You'll have another chance."

Although Yusuke was showing sympathy, happiness hung in the air about him.

"You sound as if you were pleased to see me fail and lose my chance."

Combing her hair, Natsuo inspected her facial expression in the small mirror on the wall.

You're a liar, she told her image. How are you going to unravel this mess you've got yourself into?

"How could I be happy to see you fail?" Yusuke responded, placing a kettle on the gas range. His words carried with them the tarnish of guilt. "But, you know, it's not that great for you to get chosen for a major role all of a sudden."

"Why not?"

"Because you'd be a star. A big new star."

"You are being a bit too dramatic." Natsuo's voice sank low.

"When that happens, your husband would become like a Mr. Judy Garland. Asai Yusuke would disappear completely, and in his place there would be just the husband of Midori Natsuo. I wouldn't like that."

"You're inventing problems for yourself," she said. "You are what you are. You are a script writer named Asai Yusuke."

"A script writer who might soon be forced to write a musical."

"But hasn't that been your dream, to write a musical?" Natsuo's voice was tender. "Suppose, just suppose, that I made a successful debut as an actress in a musical. As soon as I become influential enough and people begin to listen to what I say, I'll let you write a script for a musical."

"Let you write, huh?" Yusuke picked on Natsuo's phrasing. "If you talk like that even when you're making it up, I wonder how it'd be for real."

The kettle began to erupt steam. Yusuke flicked off the flame, dropped instant coffee into two cups, and splashed in the hot water.

"Did you hear that story about Ingrid Bergman?" Yusuke asked, his eyes looking into the distance. "Her third husband was a famous theatrical producer. A talented producer, too." Passing one of the cups to Natsuo, he continued. "One day Bergman asked her producer-husband, 'Why don't you ever try to get me a good play to act in?' He answered, 'Because you're a goose that lays golden eggs. Any play that features you is going to be a success. It will be a sellout for sure. For me, that's too easy.'" Yusuke sipped the coffee slowly. Then, across the rising steam, he added, "I perfectly understand how he felt."

"Does this mean that I'll have to be a minor actress all my life?" Natsuo mused.

"Who knows? I may become famous one of these days," Yusuke sighed. "Or maybe you first."

"And what would you do in the latter case?"

"Well," Yusuke stared at the coffee. "If that happens, we'll get a divorce. That will be the best solution. Then, neither of us will be bothered by all the petty problems."

Natsuo walked toward the window. "Are you serious?" she asked.

"Yes." Yusuke came and stood next to her. "That's the only way to handle the situation. That way, I'll be able to feel happy for you from the bottom of my heart."
"Can't a husband be happy for his wife's success?"

"Ingrid Bergman's second husband was Roberto Rosselini. Do you know the last words he said to her? He said, 'I'm tired of living as Mr. Ingrid Bergman.' Even Rosselini felt that way."

"You are not a Rosselini, nor I a Bergman."

"Our situation would be even worse."

From time to time, gusts of rain slapped at the window.

"When this spring storm is over, I expect the cherry blossoms will suddenly be bursting out," Yusuke whispered.

"There'll be another storm in no time. The blossoms will be gone, and summer will be here." Brushing back her still moist hair with her fingers, Natsuo turned and looked over the apartment she knew so well.

"You've been standing all this time. Aren't you getting tired?" Her husband asked in a gentle voice. She shook her head.

"You're looking over the apartment as though it were for the first time," Yusuke said, gazing at his wife's profile. "Or, is it for the last time?"

Startled by his last words, Natsuo impulsively reached into her handbag for a cigarette and put it in her mouth. Yusuke produced a lighter from his pocket and lit it for her.

"Aren't you going to continue with your work this evening?" she asked.

"No. No more work tonight."

"What's the matter?"

"I can't concentrate when someone else is in the apartment. You know that, don't you?"

Natsuo nodded.

"Won't you sit down?" Yusuke said.

"Why?"

"I have an uneasy feeling when you stand there and smoke like that."

Natsuo cast her eyes on the cigarette held between her fingers. "This is the second time today I've been smoking without sitting down." The words seemed to flow from her mouth at their own volition. His back towards her, Yusuke was collecting some sheets of writing paper scattered on his desk.

"You passed the audition. Right?" he said. His voice was so low that the last word was almost inaudible.

"How did you know?"

"I knew it from the beginning."

"From the beginning?"

"From the moment you came in. You were shouting with your whole body—'I've made it, I'm the winner!' You were trembling like a drenched cat, but your face was lit up like a Christmas tree."

Natsuo did not respond.

"The clearest evidence is the way you're smoking right now."

"Did you notice it?"

"Yes."

"Me, too. It first happened when I was waiting for the elevator down in the lobby. I was impatient, I smoked a cigarette while standing. I've got the strangest feeling about myself."

"You feel like a celebrity?"

"I feel I've outreached myself."

"But the way you look now, it's not you."

"No, it's not me."

"You'd better not smoke standing up."

"Right. I won't do it again."

There was silence.

"You don't at all feel like congratulating me?" Natsuo asked.

Yusuke did not answer.

"Somehow I knew it might be like this," Natsuo continued. "I knew this moment was coming."

Now she knew why her joy had felt like pain, a pain almost indistinguishable from grief. Now she knew the source of the suffocating presence in her chest.

"That Rosselini, you know. . ." Yusuke began again.

"Can't we drop the topic?"

"Please listen to me, dear. Rosselini was a jealous person and didn't want to see his wife working for any director other than himself. He would say to her, 'Don't get yourself involved in that play. It'll be a disaster.' One time, Bergman ignored the warning and took a part in a play. It was a big success. Rosselini was watching the stage from the wings. At the curtain call, Bergman glanced at him while bowing to the audience. Their eyes met. That instant, they both knew their love was over, with the thundering applause of the audience ringing in their ears. . ." Yusuke paused and then added, "I'll go and see your musical on the opening day."

Natsuo contemplated her husband's face from the wings of the room. He looked across.

Their eyes met.

EQUAL OPPORTUNITY EMPLOYMENT LAW, 1986

Table: Main Points of the Equal Employment Opportunity Law
Measures to Guarantee Equal Employment Opportunity Law

Job offering/recruitment	Company's duty to make effort	To make the measures effective, the Ministry of Labor is not only to set up the guidelines but also to require that a dispute be mediated, if it occurs, by the equal employment opportunity mediation commission which will be established in the Prefectural Women's and Young Workers' Office.
Assignment/promotion		
Certain prescribed training and education	Prohibition without penal sanction	
Certain prescribed welfare		
Mandatory retirement age, retirement and discharge		

Partial Revision of the Labor Standards Law

	Conventional Regulations up to this time			Points of Revision
Overtime work on Holiday	Limited to not more than 2 hours/day, 6 hours/week, and 150 hours/year. Work on holiday prohibited.	Certain specified managers or professionals		Abolish the present regulations.
		Others	Manufacturing or equivalent jobs	Abolish the regulation on overtime for 2 hours/day.
			Non-manufacturing or equivalent jobs	Regulate overtime and abolish work on holidays within the limits set by the Ministry of Labor.
Midnight Work	Prohibited (excluding nurses, telephone operators, stewardesses, announcers etc.)	Certain specified managers or professionals and short-hour workers who are required to work midnight hours due to the nature of the job.		Abolish the present regulations.
		Others		Remain as before.
Dangerous and Harmful Work	Prohibit certain prescribed jobs	Expectant mothers		Prohibit certain jobs which may cause harm to pregnancy, child delivery and child-rearing.
		Others		Remain as before.
Maternity Leave	6 weeks each before and after childbirth.	10 weeks prior to delivery of twins or more (6 weeks for the others) and 8 weeks after any childbirth. Prohibit overtime or midnight work at expectant mothers' request.		
Menstruation Leave	Prohibit females from working at their request if they feel too ill to work or if their work is too harmful to their menstruation.	Prohibit employers from using females when they request a leave because they find it difficult to work on the day of menstruation.		

Source: Lynn S. Parisi, *The Constitution and Individual Rights in Japan* (Bloomington, IN: ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies/Social Science Education and National Clearinghouse for United States-Japan Studies, 1992), p. 110. Data from Japan Information Service, Japan Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The table is reproduced by kind permission of the ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies/Social Science Education and the National Clearinghouse for United States-Japan/Studies.

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Women in Postwar Japan Document Set

Document 1: Women, Stay Home, Official Says

Japanese rulers staggered again

TOKYO—In another setback for Japan's embattled governing party, the agriculture minister angered women throughout the country Saturday by reportedly saying women are useless in politics and should stay home.

The chairwoman of the top opposition party said women will remember the comments in national elections later this month. Agriculture Minister Hisao Horinouchi, meanwhile, said he was "misunderstood."

"I deeply apologize for having made remarks that have bothered so many women," Horinouchi, a senior member of the Liberal Democratic Party, said at a televised news conference Saturday evening, after reports of his comments surfaced. "I would like to retract them completely."

Major newspapers on Saturday quoted Horinouchi as saying in a campaign speech, "In the end, women's task is to stay home and take care of their families."

Japan's largest newspaper, the *Yomiuri Shimbun*, quoted Horinouchi as posing the rhetorical question, "Can women be useful in the political world?"

"Even if they advance (into Parliament), they can't work as legislators," he said.

Several women represent the Liberal Democrats in the Diet, Japan's parliament.

The mass-circulation *Sankei Shimbun* newspaper quoted Horinouchi as adding, "England's Prime Minister (Margaret) Thatcher is special. She has a husband and children. But Socialist Party Chairwoman (Takako) Doi is single, and it is beyond such a person's ability to serve as prime minister."

Horinouchi reportedly made the comments Friday in a campaign speech. He is running in a July 23 election.

Prime Minister Sousuke Uno, in trouble himself because of allegations he kept several paid mistresses, told reporters early Saturday he would seek an explanation from Horinouchi.

Doi, who was campaigning Saturday in Osaka. Said she was "flabbergasted" by the comments.

"But I believe that the response to the agriculture minister's remarks will be clearly shown by election results," she said.

The Arizona Republic, Sunday, July 9, 1989, p. A14. Reprinted by permission of The Associated Press.

Document 2: What a Little Girl Had on Her Mind
by Ibaragi Noriko

What a little girl had on her mind was:
Why do the shoulders of other men's wives
give off so strong a smell like magnolia;
or like gardenias?
What is it,
that faint veil of mist,
over the shoulders of other men's wives?
She wanted to have one,
that wonderful thing
even the prettiest virgin cannot have.

The little girl grew up.
She became a wife and then a mother.
One day she suddenly realized:
the tenderness
that gathers over the shoulders of wives,
Is only fatigue
from loving others day after day.

Source: Ibaragi Noriko, "What a Little Girl Had on Her Mind," in Kenneth Rexroth and Ikuko Atsumi, trans. and ed., *The Burning Heart—Women Poets of Japan* (New York: Seabury Press, 1977), p. 101. Reprinted with permission of The Continuum International Publishing Group.

Document 3: Breakthroughs by Japanese Women

In 1975, a party of Japanese female mountain climbers succeeded in climbing Mt. Everest. Hisano Eiko, the leader of the expedition was quoted as saying, "Men are stronger, it's true. But we women have lots of endurance."[1] Two 65-year-old climbers were able to keep up with younger climbers. In fact, they seemed to suffer the altitude effects less than the younger climbers.

Climbing mountains is sometimes easier than climbing the ladder to the upper levels of the Japanese business community. A woman who has done so is Saisho Yuriko, who founded the large advertising company Nippo Marketing and Advertising, Inc. Saisho Yuriko, like some other women of her World War II generation, found that the financial resources of her family were destroyed, leaving her the main economic support of her family. She has said that a woman would need to work harder to succeed than most men and would have to be extremely persistent. Saisho described how she got her first accounts:

"I would beat a path to the TV station every day without fail to go over the previous day's program performance, willingly accepting criticism and advice. The people at the station would laugh and remark 'boy, not a day goes by without you showing up!'"[3]

In her advice on how women might gain executive-level positions, she also stressed the importance of having a mentor. Saisho Yuriko advises a woman as follows:

"She needs a good connection with a high-standing, socially influential person, directly or indirectly, who is willing to introduce her to whomever he wishes to contact. Without this procedure she will, in most cases, be rejected on the ground that they are tightly scheduled.

"However, it is simply because she is a stranger. They must know of her social standing and how she may be able to effect them and their profits, not only from her directly, but from someone who is socially respectable and influential. This is done through a formal instruction."[4]

Some breakthroughs have been made for women in the business community. Women seem to have more opportunities in smaller companies or in starting their own enterprises than in the large "escalator companies." More women professionals are becoming medical doctors and administrators. Women in these fields, however, often recognize that they pay a special price to be there.

Source: Marjorie Wall Bingham and Susan Hill Gross, *Women in Japan—From Ancient Times to the Present* (St. Louis Park, MN: Glenhurst Publications, 1987), pp. 289-290.

[1] Quoted in Elizabeth Powers, "Women in Sports," in *Women in Changing Japan*, Joyce Lebra, Joyce Paulson, and Elizabeth Powers, eds. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1976), p. 262.

[2] James Trager, *Letters from Sachiko* (New York: Atheneum, 1982), pp. 118-121.

[3] Yuriko Saisho, *Women Executives in Japan* (Tokyo: Yuri International, Inc., 1981), p. 21.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18.

Document 4: Gender and Language in Japan

Conversational Japanese can be classified into the following types:

- Language that males use
- Language that females use
- Language used with subordinates
- Language used with superiors
- Language used with peers

For example, a daughter will employ the female, respectful (honor) mode of speech when talking with her parents (elders), but will speak differently when talking about her parents with her friends (she will use a humble form of speech). When addressing her employer, she would use still aother form of speech because of their superior-subordinate relationship. If she had a brother who talked about the very same things in similar situations, his speech would be quite different because he would be using the male form of speech.

The female style of Japanese involves speaking in softer tones, using few direct commands, and being less egocentric in their use of language. The prominent novelist, Enchi Fumiko, has said that this female Japanese should be discarded because it puts women at a psychological disadvantage.[1] The president of Nippo Marketing, an advertising company, described how she sometimes slipped into the wrong style of speech at inappropriate times.

"Whenever I attended a meeting of a women's organization where some of my mother's classmates were present, I used to talk as if I were still in the office. One of them came over and tugged at my skirt and whispered, 'Yuri, don't talk like a businessman!' I did not realize that I was talking in a very brusque businesslike manner, which was entirely inappropriate in a women's gathering in Japan. The words we use and the way we deliver them reflect our thinking and our attitude. I was very grateful that someone thought enough of me to bring this to my attention. . ."[2]

Source: Marjorie Wall Bingham and Susan Hill Gross, *Women in Japan—From Ancient Times to the Present* (St. Louis Park, MN: Glenhurst Publications, 1987), pp. 303-304.

[1] Joy Paulson, "Women in Media," in *Women in Changing Japan*, Joyce Lebra, Joy Paulson, and Elizabeth Powers, eds. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1978), p. 224.

[2] Yuriko Saisho, *Women Executives in Japan* (Tokyo: Yuri International, 1981), p. 82.

Document 5: Liberation Begins in the Kitchen
by Yoko Kirishima

Yoko Kirishima was a popular commentator who wrote for and about contemporary Japanese women. In 1975, she wrote an essay about the responses she received when she told people she was writing a book about cooking. Below is her explanation of why cooking is important.

Cooking actually is a very important art. . . . Women's lib is supposed to help women develop their talents and competence, free themselves and build a positive, creative sense of identity, but when they no longer bother to learn how to cook because it's too "insignificant," they are no better than most men, who are completely hopeless when it comes to preparing food. Women are actually beginning to lose their freedom to cook well! They are no longer the masters of their kitchens. *That* is reactionary and I think it means a crisis is coming in the women's movement. That is why I began my own campaign. The book I'm writing now is the first step; to me, this issue is important. And it is International Women's Year!

. . . I am convinced that the superior woman is a superior cook. And conversely, the woman who is a poor cook is most likely a dull person. The women who are highly competent in their jobs are good cooks as well. . . . I think that cooking is somehow a "masculine" art. But because men discriminate, and shut women out from the "masculine" world, women become more "feminine" and are therefore terrible cooks. . . . You must remember that in the past the role of women was much more "masculine" than it is now. At one time the home was a woman's battlefield, the place where she fought the daily fight like a warrior. But now the household, with the women and children, has been pushed way behind the lines.

Source: Yoko Kirishima, "Liberation Begins in the Kitchen," *Chuo Koron* (May 1975). The translation by Wayne R. Root and Takechi Manabu is from the Autumn 1975 edition of *Japan Interpreter.*

10

Japan Inc.: Focus on the Economy in the 1980s

Introduction: The postwar period in Japan, especially the years 1955 through 1973, witnessed tremendous economic growth. Indeed, Japan's relatively quick recovery after World War II is often referred to as an economic miracle. Japan's response to the oil shocks of 1973 and 1979 provided evidence of the economy's resilience. Japan increased productivity through investment in industries of the future, including robotics.

The 1980s found Japan and the United States growing increasingly interdependent in the economic realm. As a result, the U.S. trade deficit with Japan, the value of the yen versus that of the dollar, and direct Japanese investment in the United States arose as issues. The term "Japan Inc." was used to refer to the collaboration of bureaucrats, politicians, and businessmen in the pursuit of economic advancement. Many analysts said Japan's Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI) played a key role in this collaboration. In September 1985 the finance ministers of the major industrial countries met at the Plaza Hotel in New York and agreed to closer coordination and currency realignment. This Plaza Accord led to rapid appreciation of the yen (*endaka*).

This lesson explores some aspects of Japan's economic might in the 1980s, focusing particularly on worker loyalty, societal costs associated with Japanese economic achievements, and issues related to U.S.-Japan economic interdependence.

Objectives: At the conclusion of this lesson, students will be able to:

1. Discuss the importance of worker loyalty and devotion to the company in Japan during the economic "bubble" of the 1980s.
2. Analyze and discuss the trade-offs and societal costs associated with Japanese economic achievements in the late postwar period.
3. Identify aspects of Japanese economic issues in the late postwar period such as the trade deficit with the United States, valuation of the yen, direct investment, and industrial policy.

Materials: Background Notes and Handouts 10A through 10D

Time Required: 1-2 class periods plus homework

Procedure:

1. Ask students if they know the meaning of *Japan Inc*. After students have brainstormed, explain that the term is used to refer to Japanese politicians, bureaucrats, and businessmen collaborating to enhance Japan's economic goals. The implication is that the existence of a national economic policy or national economic goals allowed such collaboration to occur. Tell students that this term was often used by Americans who thought that this kind of cooperation resulted in an unfair advantage for Japanese business.

2. Share the information in the **Background Notes** with students through a mini-lecture format. To reinforce learning, ask students to list some of the major events in Japan's postwar

economic history. Next, ask them to list some of the strengths and weaknesses of this period. Be sure that students note Japan's highly skilled workers as one of the strengths. These workers, often termed human capital, played a major role in Japan's postwar economic recovery.

3. Distribute copies of Handout 10A and Handout 10B. For homework, ask students to use the handouts to prepare a brief handbook for new employees at a Japanese company. Explain to students that such handbooks were used extensively in the 1980s (and often today) to orient new employees and to encourage loyalty to the company. Tell students their handbook should be entitled "Top Ten Expectations for New Employees" and should reflect the values and attributes referenced in Handouts 10A and 10B.

4. Review the completed homework assignments, encouraging students to share their ideas. *Students should include such items as loyalty, harmony, respect for experience, the value of hard work, concern for others, emphasis on self-improvement, importance of company training, and similar concepts.*

5. Explain that although many Japanese managers have experienced the most humble jobs in their respective companies, the Japanese workplace is hierarchical. In the 1980s some people said that in the international arena, Japanese business was at the top due to its high productivity and esteemed management practices. Further, Japanese workers were seen as being more hardworking and diligent than their American counterparts. Some Americans charged that economic arrogance had developed in Japan. Distribute Handout 10C, an excerpt from the Japanese business novel *In Los Angeles* by Shiroyama Saburo. Explain that business novels (*keizai shosetsu*Xliterally, economy novel) became recognized as a literary subgenre in the late 1950s and are read by a variety of people in Japan. Shiroyama Saburo was one of the pioneers in popularizing this genre in Japan. Although written in 1974, this novel foreshadows elements of trade friction and Japanese direct investment in the United States that were hallmarks of the 1980s. Ask students to read the excerpt and then prepare two lists. The first should contain all the examples of hierarchy and hierarchical behavior they can find in the excerpt; the second should contain all the references made to Americans and the United States.

6. Debrief student work in a class discussion. Examples on the first list will include:

- *Morito treated the Yukimuras as though they were too low-ranking to pick him up.*
- *Morito expected a driver.*
- *Yukimura thought bringing his wife to the airport was a sign of respect.*
- *Morito smoked a cigar without consulting anyone.*
- *Morito was treasured as a prince by his company because of his Japanese and American education.*
- *Morito constantly made his self-importance known, especially to Yukimura.*
- *Morito used the suffix* Bkun *for the company president's son to indicate superiority.*
- *Comparisons between company President Hori and his son Fumihiko.*
- *Tension between the LA branch and Q-Trading Company headquarters in Japan over enforcing changed orders (the branch failed to enforce orders and asked the headquarters to reconsider).*

Ask students to reflect upon their earlier work: To what extent do the workplace and worker relationships in this excerpt differ from those they studied earlier? Ask students to consider whether a reason for any differences might be the setting of Los Angeles.

Examples on the second list will include:

- *American clients Aron Orchards and Halifax Limited had difficulties with Q-Trading Company.*
- *Chauffeurs in the United States were referred to as reserved for executives, millionaires, and similar people.*
- *American employees would not like to be asked to serve as Morito's driver.*
- *Morito's U.S. college training was valued.*
- *An assertion was made that the United States was drifting on a lake of lethargy (between professionalism and amateurism).*
- *American companies were outraged when Q-Trading Company broke its contracts with them.*
- *Halifax salesmen came to the Los Angeles branch and harassed staff, showing their tattoos and guns.*
- *Morito talked about living in Los Angeles 15 years ago and the shortage of foreign exchange.*
- *The term "half breed" was used and disparaging references were made to Native Americans.*

Ask students to characterize references to the United States and its citizens as positive or negative. Encourage students to hypothesize reasons for these characterizations.

7. Next, tell students they will be looking at an excerpt from a *manga* (a general term for cartoons and narrative strips) focused on Japanese economic topics and entitled *Japan Inc.* The book's introduction states, "American readers accustomed to media coverage emphasizing the strength and achievements of the Japanese economy may be surprised at this book's emphasis on Japan's economic problems and vulnerability. . . . The book also reflects a deep suspicion of politicians and bureaucrats, often the very people American writers identify as the principal agents of the 'Japanese Miracle.'" Explain that one of the vulnerabilities the Japanese economy faced was the *endaka,* or high yen, resulting from the 1985 Plaza Accord. This currency exchange issue contributed to the proliferation of "transplants," Japanese manufacturing plants being established in the United States and elsewhere.

Divide the class into small groups and distribute Handout 10D. Ask each group to study the excerpt carefully and then prepare a storyboard "ending." Their storyboard should address the questions below; they must furnish facts to justify the ending they present.

- How do things turn out at the U.S. factory under Japanese management?
- What cultural issues might the new owners have to address?
- Are there any issues pertaining to hierarchy?
- Do Japanese and American workers have different or similar expectations and attitudes?

8. Ask students to reflect upon the differences between Japanese and American workers and businesses that they observed in this lesson. How might American businesses have adapted Japanese practices of the 1980s for use in the United States?

9. To bring closure to the lesson, ask students to focus on the overarching question of this unit: What has it meant to be Japanese at various points in history? From the various sources in this lesson, ask students to describe what they think it means to be a Japanese factory worker in the 1980s. How did such workers see themselves and their roles in the Japanese economy and society? What were their responsibilities and their contributions to their own companies? To the

economy as a whole? Give the economic power of Japan at this time, as reflected in the sources examined, how do students think Japanese people saw their nation at this time? What does the manga, *Japan Inc.* indicate was the attitude of Japanese business executives and government about the role of Japan in the world?

Recommended Films: The topic of Japanese direct investment in the United States can be explored through an excellent 30-minute video and accompanying activity book, *Intercultural Contact: The Japanese in Rutherford County, Tennessee* (University of Tennessee, 1986). This documentary explores interactions between Americans and Japanese in the workplace and community when Bridgestone Tire Co. opened a plant in La Vergne, Tennessee.

Another documentary that focuses, in part, on Japan's economic power in the 1980s is *Pacific Century: Inside Japan Inc.* (Annenberg/CPB, 1992). The final segment of this program studies the relationship between the government and industry in Japan's rise as a world economic power. The *Faces of Japan I* series includes *Two Friends—Two Lives* (TeleJapan USA, 1998), a video helpful in understanding the life of the salary man, especially in the 1980s.

Two titles from the *Video Letters from Japan* series (Asia Society, 1988-1991) could be used to help students examine the nexus between education and the economy, which could be an interesting topic for students to pursue as a follow-up to this lesson. During the 1980s, the Japanese education system was given considerable credit for its role in the country's economic success. *Suburban Tokyo High School Students* looks at high school students pressured by the exam system that determined which college they might attend and, therefore, what company, government position, or simply job, they might work at. It dramatizes the pressures of the educational system on students preparing for Japan Inc. *The College Years* highlights the concerns of young Japanese men and women. Although half of the program focuses on socializing, it also reveals their concerns about finding a good job or position in Japan Inc. A segment in the middle focuses on the problems of young women finding job opportunities that match their education and ambitions. The comedy *Family Game* (Morita Yoshimitsu, 1983) could also be used in exploring how the education system served the needs and goals of Japan, Inc. This film drew large audiences in Japan and won several awards. Among its themes are the breakdown of the traditional multigenerational family, the failure of the highly competitive examination-directed Japanese education system, and the loss of traditional values to Westernization.

The Japanese Economy in the 1980s

by Richard Rice, Department of History, University of Tennessee-Chattanooga

The 1980s: Japanese Economic Power

One of the most important economic developments in the 1980s was the growing interdependence of the American and Japanese economies. Japanese-manufactured exports in the 1980s continued to be strong, partly because of the U.S. budget deficit, which raised interest rates in America and drew funds from foreign countries like Japan. The increased value of the dollar made American export goods more expensive on world markets. At about the same time, relaxation of some regulations in financial markets in Japan made the flow of international funds easier. This, and the rapid fall of oil prices in the early 1980s, generated a large trade surplus for Japan. Stock prices climbed and land values reached astronomical levels in Japanese cities.

Increasingly in the 1970s, and especially in the 1980s, industries in other countries cried out for protection as "trade friction" became a major issue. Partly in response to the fear of being shut out of foreign markets, Japanese companies began to build plants abroad. Most Japanese foreign investment in the 1960s was in developing countries with raw materials the Japanese needed. In contrast, Japanese investment in the 1980s focused on advanced industrial nations. Japan's large trade surplus made it a major creditor nation with the ability to invest abroad, through both indirect investments in securities, primarily government bonds, and direct investments in real estate and factories. Japan became an important factor in international finance.

For years Americans argued that a rise in the value of the yen would solve the trade deficit problem by making Japanese products more expensive. In 1985 the Group of Five (the leading industrial countries) agreed to work toward a lower dollar and higher yen to reflect the true strengths of each economy. The United States was to reduce its government deficit (and thereby lower interest rates) and Japan was to stimulate its domestic spending. As the dollar fell in value versus the yen, many Japanese industries lost competitiveness in products where the quality was essentially the same as their competitors in Korea and Taiwan. Although the quantity of exports from Japan fell and imports to Japan rose (even from the United States), foreign buyers were willing to pay more for Japanese products, which they perceived as better in quality. This and the ability of Japanese firms to cut costs meant that the trade deficit problem continued. Also, prime costs for imported raw materials dropped as the yen rose in value. Strong domestic demand in Japan, as well as in the United States, was also important.

By producing more efficiently, offering new technologies to consumers, and increasing sales in Japan, many Japanese companies survived a doubling of the yen's value compared with the dollar during a short period in the 1980s. In addition, more production shifted offshore to low-wage Asian countries or to the United States. So many Japanese companies built plants or purchased real estate in the United States that concern grew about the "buying up of America." In fact, many of these investments proved unwise and were sold at a loss in the 1990s.

Some Japanese considered that the solution to their problem lay in developing new technologies with a high value-added component. They mounted major efforts in the areas of advanced semiconductors, high-definition TV, superconductivity, biotechnology, and ceramics. Although in the past Japan had not been a leader in basic research, Japanese engineers became skilled at marketing new technologies through superior production engineering and quality-control systems. While much U.S. government-funded research has occurred in the form of military projects, most government-funded research and development (R&D) in Japan has been carried out by large companies with commercial products in mind.

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Although Japanese products were more expensive by the end of the 1980s, they continued to sell well because of consumer confidence in their quality and the ability of Japanese companies to market new consumer products quickly. For some new products (e.g., VCRs and CD players), Japanese firms acted so rapidly they created a market with no American competitors.

Reasons for Japanese Economic Success in the 1980s

An important factor in the growth of the modern Japanese economy in the postwar period was education. Because of an excellent primary and secondary education system, Japanese workers were well trained to contribute to economic growth. In the 1980s, Japan trained as many engineers each year as the United States, a country with twice the population. As in the past, Japan was making a major investment in the human capital needed for the future.

Related to this investment in human capital was the lifetime employment system. In large Japanese companies, workers were loyal because they expected the firms to employ them through most of their working lives. Because they did not fear job loss, Japanese workers were less concerned than were Americans about the introduction of new laborsaving technologies. They also tended to work harder and show loyalty to the firms that employed them. Yet, less than half of Japan's workforce enjoyed the security of "lifetime" employment (usually to age 50 or 55). Many Japanese worked in small shops and supplier firms where wages and benefits were low and job security depended on swings in the economy.

Although the United States had the most productive economy in the world in the 1980s, Japanese productivity was higher in many key industries. The challenges of the past made Japanese companies extremely competitive, and major equipment investment increased the output per worker. Japan had more robots at work than any other country. Sound management practices and a spirit of cooperation gave Japan one of the world's lowest rates of days lost due to strikes. Although there were signs that the younger generation might prefer more leisure time and a consumer lifestyle, most Japanese at the end of the Showa period still found their identity in their companies and in their work.

The Japanese government provided incentives and administrative guidance to the private sector, but the effectiveness of these policies is now in question because of their failure to stimulate the economy in the 1990s. The Japanese economy was market-oriented rather than planned, but Japan's government officials, particularly in the Ministry of Trade and Industry (MITI), kept track of international trends and encouraged private industry investment in promising new technologies and markets. MITI was particularly useful when an industry in Japan wound down, helping firms merge or make transitions to more promising sectors of the economy. In most cases, government and business cooperated, rather than being antagonistic as found in the West.

Another factor behind Japan's economic growth was the tendency of Japanese companies to view success in terms of market share, especially when entering a new market. Managers were not under pressure to show immediate high quarterly profits, as are American managers. In the long run, however, Japanese companies, like firms anywhere, have to make profits to survive.

Although the Japanese model of economic growth was very attractive as the Showa era ended in 1989, that same year saw a drop in both property values and the stock market. The 1980s "economic bubble" had burst, but it would take until 1992 to hit bottom. Even though Japan does not command the headlines it did in the 1980s, it is still America's most important economic partner and a major component of the world economy.

Attitudes Toward Work

by Morita Akio

This essay by a Japanese executive was written in 1986, in the midst of Japan's economic might. The executive highlights management practices he believed exemplified Japanese business at that time.

Japanese attitudes toward work seem to be critically different from American attitudes. Japanese people tend to be much better adjusted to the notion of work, any kind of work, as honorable. Nobody would look down on a man who retires at age fifty-five or sixty and then to keep earning money takes a more menial job than the one he left. I should mention that top-level executives usually have no mandatory retirement age, and many stay on into their seventies and even their eighties.

At Sony we have mandatory retirement from the presidency at sixty-five, but to utilize their experience and knowledge we keep former executives who have retired as consultants. We provide them with office space and staff, so that they can work apart from the day-to-day affairs of the company, at Ibuka Hall, a building located five minutes away from the headquarters building. From time to time, we ask them for advice and they attend conferences and other events as representatives of Sony. . . .

Workers generally are willing to learn new skills. Japan has never devised a system like the American, in which a person is trained to do one thing and then refuses to take a job doing anything else—and is even supported by government funds while he looks for a job that suits his specific tastes. Because of Japan's special situation, our people do not have that luxury. And our unemployment rate lately has not reached 3 percent.

One old style of management that is still being practiced by many companies in the United States and by some in Japan is based on the idea that the company that is successful is the one that can produce the conventional product most efficiently at cheaper cost. Efficiency, in this system, becomes a god. Ultimately, it means that machinery is everything, and the ideal factory is a perfectly automated one, perhaps one that is unmanned. . . .

But technology has accelerated at an unparalleled pace in the past few decades and it has entailed digesting new knowledge, new information, and different technologies. Today, management must be able to establish new business ahead of its competitors, rather than pursue higher efficiency in manufacturing conventional products. In the United States and Europe today, old-fashioned low-level jobs are being protected while the new technologies are being neglected.

More important, an employee today is no longer a slave to machinery who is expected to repeat simple mechanical operations like Charlie Chaplin in the film *Modern Times*. He is no longer a beast of burden who works under the carrot-and-stick rule and sells his labor. After all, manual labor can be taken over by machine or computer. Modern industry has to be brain-intensive and so does the employee. . . . In the late sixties, when integrated circuits had to be assembled by hand, the deft fingers of Asian women were greatly in demand by U.S. companies. As the design of these devices became more and more complicated, along came more sophisti-

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Source: "American and Japanese Styles, The Difference," from *Made in Japan* by Morita Akio and Edwin M. Reingold, and Mitsuko Shimomura, copyright © 1986 by E.P. Dutton. Used by permission of Dutton, a division of Penguin Putnam Inc.

cated machinery, such as laser trimmers, which required not deft fingers but agile minds and intelligence. And so this upgrading of the workers is something that every country will have to be concerned about. . . This means educating new employees and reeducating older employees for new challenges.

That is not all. At Sony we at times have scientists participate in sales for a while because we don't want our scientists to live in ivory towers. I have always felt they should know that we are in a very competitive business and should have some experience in the front lines of the business. Part of the training program for graduates who enter Sony as recruits fresh out of university includes a program where nontechnical persons undergo a month of training at a factory and technical persons work as salespeople in a Sony shop or department store, selling our products.

Japanese labor practices are often called old-fashioned in today's world, and some say the old work ethic is eroding in Japan as it has elsewhere, but I do not think this is inevitable. As I see it, the desire to work and to perform well is not something unnatural that has to be imposed on people. I think all people get a sense of satisfaction from accomplishing work that is challenging, when their work and role in the company are being recognized. Managers abroad seem to overlook this. People in America, for example, have been conditioned to a system in which a person sells his labor for a price. In a way, that's good because people cannot coast; they know they have to work to earn their money or be fired. . . . In Japan we do take the risk of promising people job security, and then we have to keep motivating them. Yet I believe it is a big mistake to think that money is the only way to compensate a person for his work.

People need money, but they also want to be happy in their work and proud of it. So if we give a lot of responsibility to a younger man, even if he doesn't have a title, he will believe he has a good future and will be happy to work hard. In the United States, title and job and monetary incentives are all tied together. That is why, if a young person has a big job, management thinks he has to have a big salary. But in Japan we customarily give raises each year as employees get older and more experienced in the company. If we give an unusually high salary to one person we cannot continue to give him annual increases indefinitely. At some point, his salary will have to level off, and at that point, he is likely to get discouraged. So we like to give the same sort of raise to all. I think this keeps our people well motivated. This may be a Japanese trait, but I do not think so.

I believe people work for satisfaction. I know that advertisements and commercials in the United States seem to hold up leisure as the most satisfying goal in life, but it is not that way in Japan yet. I really believe there is such a thing as company patriotism and job satisfaction—and that it is as important as money. It goes without saying that you must pay good wages. But that also means, of course, that the company must not throw money away on huge bonuses for executives or other frivolities but must share its fate with the workers. Japanese workers seem to feel better about themselves if they get raises as they age, on an expectable curve. We have tried other ways.

When we started our research laboratory, we had to go out and find researchers, and because these people had more education and were, naturally, older than our normal new employees we decided they should have higher wages, equivalent to U.S. salary levels. One suggested plan was to put them under short-term contract, say three years, after which we would decide whether to renew or not. But before we decided on this new pay scheme, I asked the new employees whether they would prefer the more common system of lower pay to start, but with yearly increases, or the three-year contract at a much higher wage.

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Not one of them asked for the American-level salary. Everyone opted for long-range security. That is why I tell the Americans I meet that people don't work only for money. But often when I say it, they respond, "Yes, I see, but how much do you pay the ones who really work hard?" Now this is an important point. When a worker knows he will be getting a raise each year, he can feel so secure that he thinks there is no need to work hard. Workers must be motivated to want to do a good job. We Japanese are, after all, human beings, with much in common with people everywhere. Our evaluation system is complex and is designed to find really capable persons, give them challenging jobs, and let them excel. It isn't the pay we give that makes the difference—it is the challenge and the recognition they get on the job.

My eldest son, Hideo, may not be the best example of the typical Japanese worker, but he has an interesting and, I think, typical view of work in Japan. He has studied in Britain and the United States, and all his life he wanted to work for Sony. He went to work as an Artists and Repertory man at the CBS-Sony record company on the urging of Norio Ohga. He and I felt that for him to come directly into Sony headquarters would be wrong, because of the family connection and the overtones of nepotism. So he was proving himself at CBS-Sony. He worked with foreign and local artists and became famous and successful in the record industry in Japan. He worked very hard, from about noon until three or four o'clock in the morning, doing his regular office business during the day and then dealing with musicians after they finished their work. . . . although he could have gone on a long time resting on his laurels, he took stock of himself on his thirtieth birthday and made a decision.

As he put it, "In the record business, there are many people in their late thirties and early forties wearing jogging shoes and white socks and jeans and T-shirts to the office. I looked at those guys and said, I don't want to be like that when I am forty or forty-five. This business is fine and I have been successful, and I have no reason to leave it. If I keep this job, I thought, I might end up being a top officer of CBS-Sony, but I didn't want to see myself at fifty coming into the office at one o'clock in the afternoon in jogging shoes and white socks saying 'Good morning.' I felt I had to prove to myself after seven years in the record business that I could work from nine to five, like ordinary people."

He was assigned to the Sony accounting division—quite a change, you might think, from the artistic side of the record business—and some might have wondered whether he could make it or not, but I believed he could. His attitude is very Japanese, despite his international upbringing:

> All jobs are basically the same. You have to apply yourself, whether you are a record A&R man, a salesman on the street, or an accounting clerk. You get paid and you work 100 percent to do the job at hand. As an A&R man, I was interested and excited and happy, but naturally as long as you are satisfied with your work and are using your energy, you will be happy. I was also very excited about the accounting division. I found out something new every day, struggling with a whole bunch of invoices and the payment sheets, the balance sheet, the profit and loss statement, and working with all those numbers. I began to get a broad picture of the company, its financial position and what is happening day to day and which way the company is heading. I discovered that excitement and making music at the studio are the same thing.

In the late sixties a European Commission internal memo on Japan was leaked, and a great stir was created because it referred to the Japanese as "workaholics" who live in "rabbit hutches." There is no doubt that inadequate housing is a major problem in Japan, and nobody could deny that the Japanese are probably the hardest working people in the world. We have many holidays in Japan, but only about the same number as the United States. We do not give long summer vacations, even to our schoolchildren.

At Sony we were one of the first Japanese companies to close down our factory for one week in the summer, so that everybody could take off at the same time. And we long ago instituted the five-day, forty-hour week. The Japan Labor Standards Act still provides for a maximum forty-eight-hour workweek, though it is soon to be revised downward, and the average workweek in manufacturing is now forty-three hours. But even with up to twenty days of paid vacation a year, Japanese workers managed to take fewer days off and spend more days on the job than workers in the United States and Europe.

It was only in 1983 that banks and financial institutions began to experiment with the five-day week, closing one Saturday a month, and eventually the whole nation will move closer to the five-day week. Still, International Labor Organization data show that Japanese work longer weeks and have fewer labor disputes than workers in the United States, the United Kingdom, France, or West Germany. What I think this shows is that the Japanese worker appears to be satisfied with a system that is not designed only to reward people with high pay and leisure.

At Sony we learned that the problem with an employee who is accustomed to work only for the sake of money is that he often forgets that he is expected to work for the group entity, and this self-centered attitude of working for himself and his family to the exclusion of the goals of his coworkers and the company is not healthy. It is management's responsibility to keep challenging each employee to do important work that he will find satisfying and to work within the family. To do this, we often reorganize the work at Sony to suit the talents and abilities of the workers.

I have sometimes referred to American companies as being structures like brick walls while Japanese companies are more like stone walls. By that I mean that in an American company, the company's plans are all made up in advance, and the framework for each job is decided upon. Then, as a glance at the classified section of any American newspaper will show, the company sets out to find a person to fit each job. When an applicant is examined, if he is found to be oversized or undersized for the framework, he will usually be rejected. So this structure is like a wall built of bricks: the shape of each employee must fit in perfectly, or not at all.

In Japan recruits are hired, and then we have to learn how to make use of them. They are a highly educated but irregular lot. The manager takes a good long look at these rough stones, and he has to build a wall by combining them in the best possible way, just as a master mason builds a stone wall. The stones are sometimes round, sometimes square, long, large, or small, but somehow the management must figure out how to put them together. People also mature, and Japanese managers must also think of the shapes of these stones as changing from time to time. As the business changes, it becomes necessary to refit the stones into different places. . . .

When Japanese companies in declining or sunset industries change their line of business or add to it, workers are offered retraining and, for the most part, they accept it eagerly. This sometimes requires a family move to the new job, and Japanese families are, again, generally disposed to do this.

"Love, Light and a Dream"

Lyrics by Miyazawa Shoji
Music by Hirai Kozaburo

A bright heart overflowing
With life linked together,
MATSUSHITA DENKI.
Time goes by but as it moves along
Each day brings a new spring
Let us bind together
A world of blooming flowers
And a verdant land
In Love, Light and a Dream.

We trust our strength together in harmony
Finding happiness,
MATSUSHITA DENKI.
Animating joy everywhere,
A world of dedication,
Let us fulfill our hopes,
Shining hopes,
Of a radiant dawning
With Love, Light and a Dream.

Source: Matsushita Electric Industrial Co., Ltd. Used by permission of Matsushita Electric Corporation of America.

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In Los Angeles

by Shiroyama Saburo

Yukimura thought he had prepared himself for the worst, but the trip to the Los Angeles International Airport proved otherwise. Morito, the new branch manager, just in from Japan, berated Yukimura right there in the terminal. The Yukimura couple were quick to catch sight of the tall Morito stepping out of a customs gate in the JAL lobby and also very fast to duck their heads and bow. Morito, on his part, generously raised a hand and strode up to them. So far so good. But as soon as Morito had staged his formalistic handshake, he glanced all around the lobby and let the couple know of his dissatisfaction.

"Nobody here to meet me?"

"We . . ."

"I'm talking about others."

Because the tone of Morito's voice mean *You two don't count*, the Yukimuras were at a loss for words. They felt insulted, but even more, disheartened to find their new manager so unpleasant.

Most Americans, of course, do not have ceremonious greetings and farewells at airports as the Japanese do. It didn't seem possible that this "legend" who had studied in the United States shortly after World War II and who still spoke in English in his sleep was that ignorant about American ways. Besides, he should have known that the Los Angeles branch office of Yukimura's Q-Trading Company had only five staff members, including the local employees. Wasn't it good enough that the deputy manager and his wife had come to pick him up?

"Kato-kun is in Phoenix, and Nakano-kun is in San Diego at the moment," Yukimura spoke apologetically as he looked up at Morito's sparkling glasses.

"And our clients?

Yukimura caught himself from saying *This isn't Japan, you know* only with some effort.

"Some asked for your arrival time, but I didn't give a definite answer."

"Why? Why didn't you have them come?"

"Because they are Aron Orchards, Halifax Limited, and other nettlesome companies." Yukimura listed the names of the companies that his former manager Ohkubo had tried to avoid and about which the new manager Morito was expected to do something. "They might have given you a hard time right at the first sight of you."

Source: Excerpted from Shiroyama Saburo, "In Los Angeles," *A One-Man Office in Broad Daylight* (Tokyo: Shincho Bunko, 1974); translated in Tamae K. Prindle, trans. and ed., *Made in Japan and Other Japanese Business Novels* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1989). Reprinted by permission from Shinchosha and M.E. Sharpe, Inc., Armonk, NY 10504.

"You don't have to worry about me. I can take care of them. It's not your place to fix things for me," Morito chided unsparingly.

Yukimura's wife, Sayoko, tensed up as she stood next to him.

"I'm not built as delicately as Ohkubo-kun. Nervous breakdowns and ulcers are foreign to me. I'm going to forge ahead without worrying about little things. Please keep that in mind," Morito went on.

Yukimura and Sayoko nodded together in a chain reaction. Actually, they felt that they had to.

This wasn't the end of Morito's carping. When Yukimura drove his Ford Capri from the parking lot to the terminal building exit, Morito looked down at it from where he stood.

"Are you driving it yourself?"

"Yes."

"Don't you have a driver?"

Yukimura's nerves seethed. In the United States, only corporate executives, millionaires, and the like could afford a private chauffeur. Morito should know that by now. What kind of nonsense was he spewing?

"If you don't have a driver, why don't you let your junior staff drive for you?"

This made no more sense than anything else Morito had said. All the Japanese staff were out of town, and no American employees would consider being treated like a chauffeur.

Morito finally settled into the back seat, plopping his gigantic rear onto it.

"You make me feel as if I'm here to depend on you." Morito's abusive talk was another way of scolding. *This isn't the way to receive your business manager. Dontt take me for your friend visiting here for a vacation.*

Yukimura started the car wordlessly just as soon as Sayoko slid into the seat next to him. Silently, he retorted, *Coming to the airport with my wife was the best welcome a deputy manager of a small trading company could give to its new manager.*

"It would have worked better if you had brought me a car. I could have driven it back myself," added Morito with annoyance.

This was even more nonsensical. Even assuming that the company would buy a car for the manager, he would have wanted to select it for himself. Renting a car wouldn't have pleased him either.

Having run out of complaints, Morito cut the tip of a cigar and lit it. A powerful smell filled the car. Sayoko usually got a headache from cigar smoke but she was too frightened to roll down the window.

What a nuisance of a manager I've gotten, Yukimura commiserated with himself once again. He had heard of Morito's nickname and reputation, but this was the very first time he had to work directly under him. In a firm the size of his Q-Trading Company, a person with a degree from a top-notch national university and from an American college as well was treasured as the company's "prince" from the beginning of his career. To Yukimura's knowledge, Morito was very demanding at work, yet he would also do a friendly thing like inviting his juniors to a house party. The "prince" used a whip and candy very generously, so to speak. He was thoroughly Draconian in business transactions but had been a big hit in his departments thus far. One could guess that Morito would join the board of directors just as soon as he turned forty if he straightened out the problems of the Los Angeles office during his tenure there. Morito was a big shot and he knew it—or rather, he was a bundle of self-importance. And he made sure that Yukimura felt it under his skin.

Yukimura drove on in silence. Off in the distance, the Santa Monica Bay glistened blue in the twilight. The wind seemed to have blown off the infamous smog. The sky of Los Angeles, with a hue of emerald green, was deep and high.

Suddenly, Morito started showering questions onto Sayoko's back.

"Mrs. Yukimura, how are your children? There's a girl in the sixth grade and a boy in the second grade, isn't there?"

"Yes!" Sayoko nodded in such amazement that her head almost knocked against the windshield.

"I hear that your daughter is good at drawing pictures." Morito had more surprises up his sleeve.

"Oh, no, not at all. . . ." Sayoko blushed like a girl whose hand had been asked for in marriage, and her body stiffened. Earlier, she had been frozen from trepidation; this time she sat in a rapturous trance.

It flashed across Yukimura's mind that this was Morito's trick. He must have checked up on the family situations of his subordinates at the personnel office or somewhere. But how did he uncover a detail like his daughter's drawings? This was the art of winning over people's hearts. It was something Yukimura begrudgingly had to take his hat off to.

"Art transcends nationalities. Things are more colorful, and sceneries have a larger scale over here. It will be good to take her for landscape painting and such," Morito continued as he blew out the cigar smoke. Sayoko nodded, drugged by the thick curtain of smoke.

The traffic on the freeway became more congested as Yukimura approached the downtown area. This time, Morito's voice took aim at Yukimura.

"Talking about pictures. . . , isn't Fumihiko-kun, President Hori's son, living with hippies and trying to paint somewhere near here?"

"I think he's taking it seriously these days."

"How hopeless! He has a degree in economics, and is supposed to be continuing his studies here in the United States. The president is very disappointed in him. How is it that a shiftless son like that comes from such an outstanding father?"

Yukimura knew that the question didn't ask for an answer, but he put forth his opinion just the same. "Maybe it's because his father is too outstanding."

"What do you mean?"

"He's compared to his successful father in whatever he does. It's hard for the son. In fact, I've heard Fumihiko-san[1] swear that he would give up his success so that his son wouldn't feel pressured. I think I can understand how he feels."

"Humph,: Morito wheezed in a nasal tone. "No matter how you look at it, though, hippies and delinquents are human garbage. He has no right to lecture us as long as he is mixed up with that sort of gang."

"But Fumihiko-san doesn't use drugs; nor does he go for free love. He's just looking to be a free sprit. He just wants to indulge in art."

"If he's that serious, why doesn't he go to Paris or New York?"

"He says he'd be overwhelmed by too many recognized artists in Paris and New York. He feels that there's no spot left for him to sketch."

"Doesn't professionalism mean overcoming that sort of competition?"

Yukimura nodded lightly and continued, "But he's not sure if he really wants to be a professional artist."

"That's precisely where the problem lies. That's why he's a bungler. No wonder the president is disgusted with him."

Yukimura sidestepped Morito's comment and went on, "As you may be aware, the United States is a country of professionals. It's believed that survival depends on professionalism."

"It sure is."

"But more and more laid back young people are choosing to do only what they believe in. You may call them anti-professionals. Success isn't part of their vocabulary."

"The Vietnam war has blighted their minds; that's it."

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[1] Note how Morito calls the president's son with the *-kun* suffix to show superiority to Yukimura. Yukimura refers to the same person with the *-san* suffix to show respect to both the president and Morito.

"Maybe so, but it seems to me that the United States has turned a corner in history. I feel that the whole country is drifting on a lake of lethargy, trying to survive on the borderline between professionalism and amateurism."

"Come on, you softboiled egg! This is why you can't make clear-cut decisions. If you had taken a firmer stance, you could have solved the problems with Aron and Halifax more forcefully."

Yukimura took it in stride. It was possible to insist on Q-Trading Company's way of doing business, but unfortunately, the problems weren't the kind that could be solved in a hard-headed business manner. For example, Q-Trading Company was the only Japanese trading company that bought lemons, grapefruit, oranges, and other fruits from Aron Orchards in Riverside City. The original contract called for Q-Trading Company to purchase exclusively all the fruit products of Aron on the condition that Aron discontinue their business with large fruit retailers in the United States. But lately the Japanese market for lemons and grapefruit had become sluggish. And a chronic glut was projected for the future. As a result, Q-Trading Company decided to discontinue purchasing lemons and to begin selectively purchasing grapefruit and oranges. This change was advantageous to the Q-Trading Company only—and there was a ruthless calculation behind it: Aron Orchards wouldn't survive long; the bankruptcy would solve Q's problems.

Aron Orchards was outraged. Intimidated by Aron's violent reaction, Ohkubo, the former manager, stopped going to the Riverside region altogether. There was also a time when armed Aron-affiliated farmers barged in on Q-Trading Company. The branch office found it impossible to force the main office's decision onto the American producers and requested that the main office reconsider the new order.

A similar tension existed with the Halifax Distributor. Two years ago, Q-Trading Company nominated Halifax as a distributor of a Japanese spray system. Halifax Headquarters in Ontario City, some fifty kilometers east of Los Angeles, had a good reputation in the farming communities in southern California and the spray system sold better than expected. Q-Trading Company attributed its success to the high quality of the machinery, while Halifax assumed that it was due to its sales efforts. In either case, commissions bulged significantly along with the sales figures. The Q-Trading Company, now chary of the sales commission, decided to terminate the distributor contract at the time of its renewal. But the contract was supposed to be renewed every two years, unless a breach of confidence intervened. As a pretext, Q-Trading Company accused Halifax of negotiating with an American maker of spray systems. This was another source of headaches at the branch office.

Rather than lose its temper, Halifax went on pleading its case. Because Halifax had entrusted the sales to about twenty salesmen, the contract negotiations directly affected the employment of these people. Naturally, the salesmen came to the Q-office in relays. Some threatened to appeal to the court; others menaced the staff by showing their tattoos and guns. They implied, "If you go about it illegally, we will do the same." Ohkubo requested the contact be renewed once more, but the Tokyo office responded by replacing him with Morito.

Morito suddenly cried out, "Oh, the good old City Hall! It hasn't changed!"

The twenty-eight story, uniquely white City Hall loomed in front of the car.

"You must have lived in the Los Angeles area before." Sayoko turned around to keep Morito company.

"It was over fifteen years ago. I didn't actually live here. I used to live in San Bernardino. I came here from the country now and then. Every time I saw this building I was excited to be in Los Angeles. I felt much closer to Japan."

"It must have been difficult for you."

"Well, there still was a shortage of foreign exchange. I had to make my living at dish-washing, lawn-mowing, orange-picking, and other odd jobs while going to school."

"San Bernardino is on the other side of Ontario and Riverside, isn't it?"

"Right."

Isn't this ironic? Yukimura was tempted to remark, *That's near Aron and Halifax!* But he said, "Do you have acquaintances around there?"

"There may still be some, but they were all my enemies. I was pushed into cheap labor everywhere. There was only one old man, the owner of an orchard, who was very nice to me. He was a 'half-breed' with American Indian blood. He told me to marry his granddaughter, get permanent residency, and manage his orchard with her."

"But you didn't."

"Of course not. Who wants to live an empty life at the end of the world? Also, how could I marry an Indian and have kids that holler 'wa wa' all the time?" Morito imitated the voice of American Indians in Western movies and made Sayoko laugh.

Japan Inc.: The Economy in *Manga*

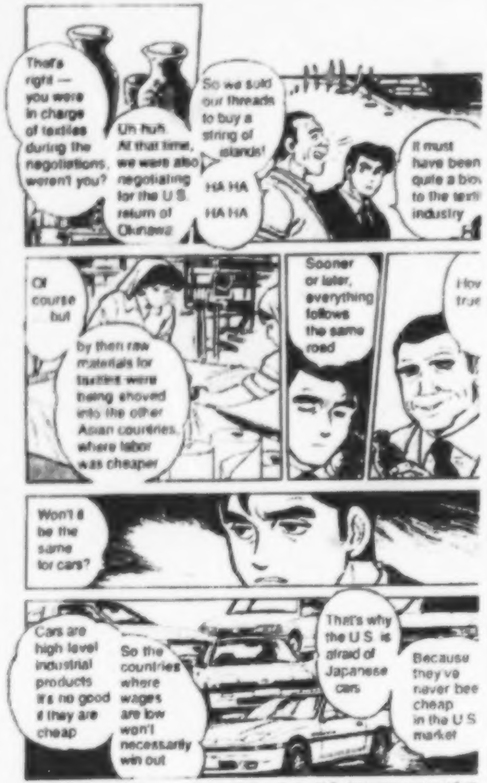
IN WHICH we see how international trade friction grates on the affairs of the Toyosan Automobile Corporation and its affiliate, the Mitsutomo Company:

U.S. automobile interests force Japanese companies to restrict the export of cars, and Toyosan's president decides to move production to the U.S.;

Mitsutomo's wily Tsugawa is called upon to eradicate union opposition to the move and facilitate the takeover of a plant in the U.S.;

Toyosan's union leader Sato discovers that his personal predilections and political ambitions prevent the pursuit of union interests;

and Mitsutomo's kind-hearted Kudo learns much about earlier trade-friction crises, but is unable to save the Japanese subcontractors who have been manufacturing parts for Toyosan cars.


That's right — you were in charge of textiles during the negotiations, weren't you?
Uh huh. At that time, we were also negotiating for the U.S. return of Okinawa
So we sold our threads to buy a string of islands!
HA HA HA HA
It must have been quite a blo[w] to the texti[le] industry
Of course but
by then raw materials for textiles were being shoved into the other Asian countries, where labor was cheaper
Sooner or later, everything follows the same road
How true
Won't it be the same for cars?
Cars are high level industrial products. It's no good if they are cheap
So the countries where wages are low won't necessarily win out
That's why the U.S. is afraid of Japanese cars
Because they've never bee[n] cheap in the U.S. market

Another point of friction is semiconductors. In the U.S.-Japanese semicondu trade, the balance went in favor of Japan for the first time in 1980. Problems immediately; they were temporarily resolved by a reciprocal lowering of tariffs.

Source: Shotaro Ishinomori, *Japan Inc.: An Introduction to Japanese Economics (The Comic Book)*, translated by Betsey Scheiner with an introduction by Peter Duus (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1988), pp. 2, 18-20, 23-25, 27, 30-31, 33, 52, 54-56. Used by permission of the University of California Press and Nihon Keizai Shimbun.

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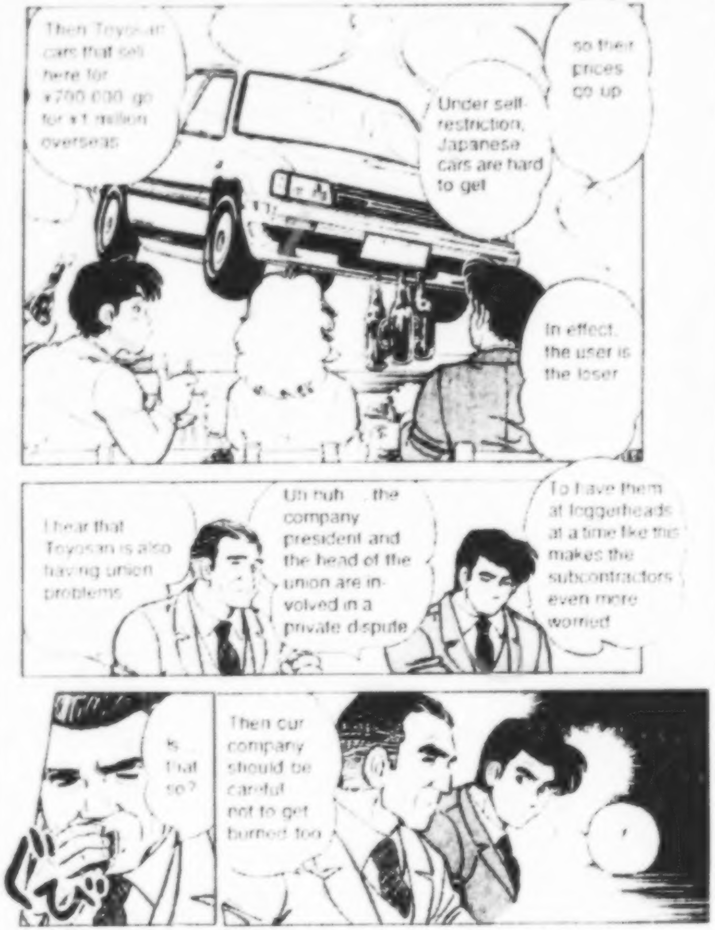
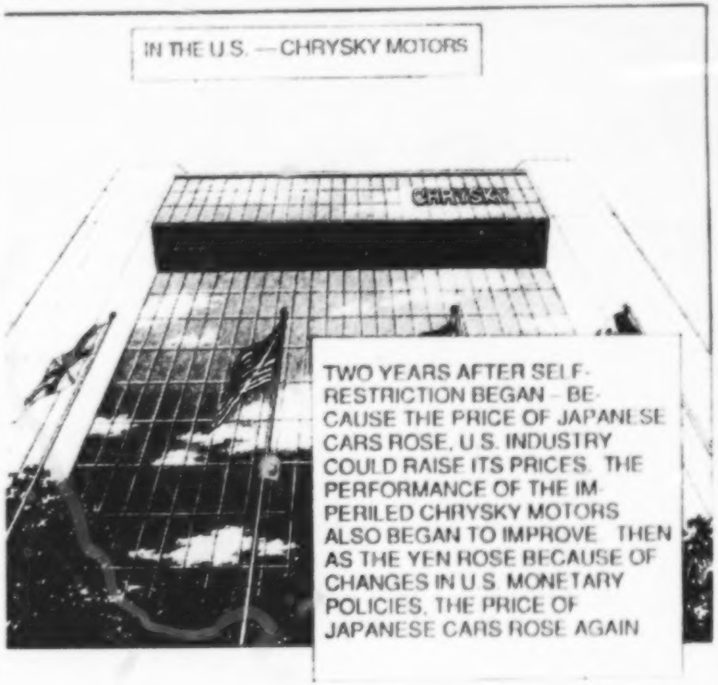

Then Toyosan cars that sell here for ¥700,000 go for ¥1 million overseas
Under self-restriction, Japanese cars are hard to get
so their prices go up
In effect, the user is the loser
I hear that Toyosan is also having union problems
Uh huh ... the company president and the head of the union are involved in a private dispute
To have them at loggerheads at a time like this makes the subcontractors even more worried
Is ... that so?
Then our company should be careful not to get burned too

A country's custom statistics form the basis for its export statistics. But the standards for the statistics are different in the U.S. and in Japan. The figures announced by Japan for its trade surplus with the U.S. and those announced by the U.S. for its trade deficit with Japan do not agree.


IN THE U.S. — CHRYSKY MOTORS
CHRYSKY
TWO YEARS AFTER SELF-RESTRICTION BEGAN – BECAUSE THE PRICE OF JAPANESE CARS ROSE, U.S. INDUSTRY COULD RAISE ITS PRICES. THE PERFORMANCE OF THE IMPERILED CHRYSKY MOTORS ALSO BEGAN TO IMPROVE. THEN AS THE YEN ROSE BECAUSE OF CHANGES IN U.S. MONETARY POLICIES, THE PRICE OF JAPANESE CARS ROSE AGAIN

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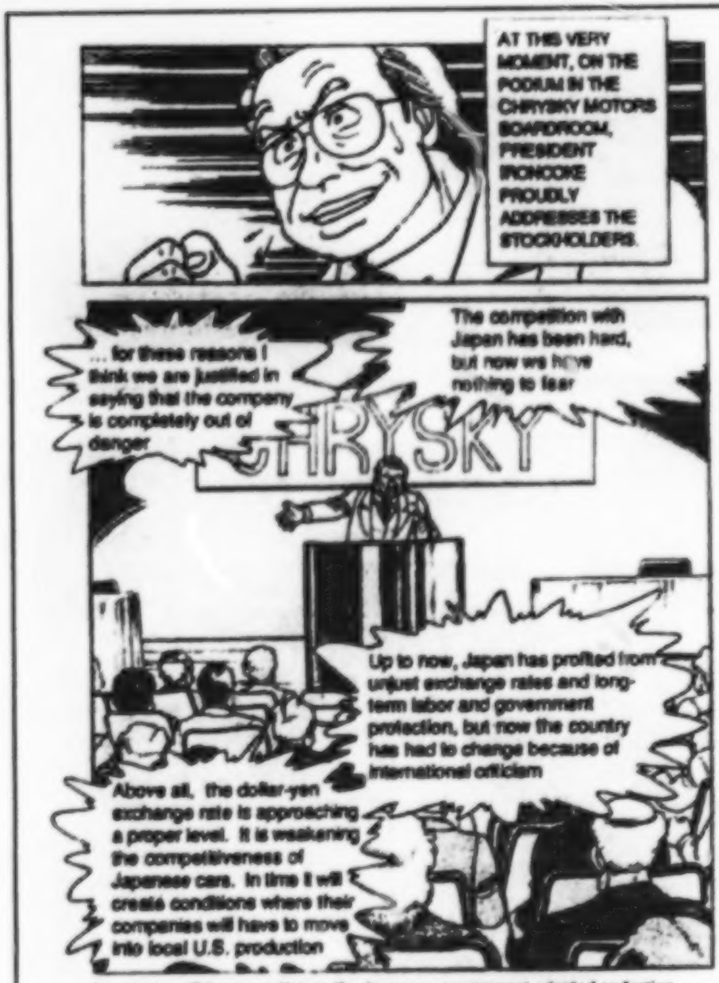
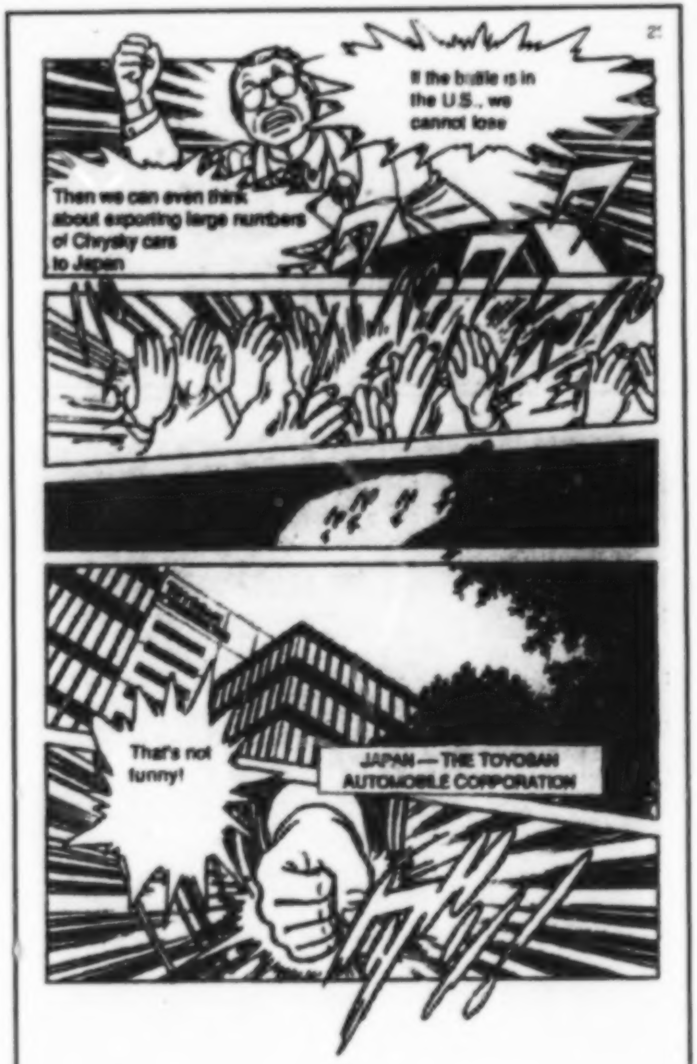

AT THIS VERY MOMENT, ON THE PODIUM IN THE CHRYSKY MOTORS BOARDROOM, PRESIDENT IRONCOKE PROUDLY ADDRESSES THE STOCKHOLDERS.
The competition with Japan has been hard, but now we have nothing to fear
... for these reasons I think we are justified in saying that the company is completely out of danger
CHRYSKY
Up to now, Japan has profited from unjust exchange rates and long-term labor and government protection, but now the country has had to change because of international criticism
Above all, the dollar-yen exchange rate is approaching a proper level. It is weakening the competitiveness of Japanese cars. In time it will create conditions where their companies will have to move into local U.S. production

In order to still foreign criticism, the Japanese government adopted an "action program." Its central points were the lowering of duties on 1,853 goods and the simplification of standards, certification, and import procedures.


If the battle is in the U.S., we cannot lose
Then we can even think about exporting large numbers of Chrysky cars to Japan
That's not funny!
JAPAN — THE TOYOBAH AUTOMOBILE CORPORATION

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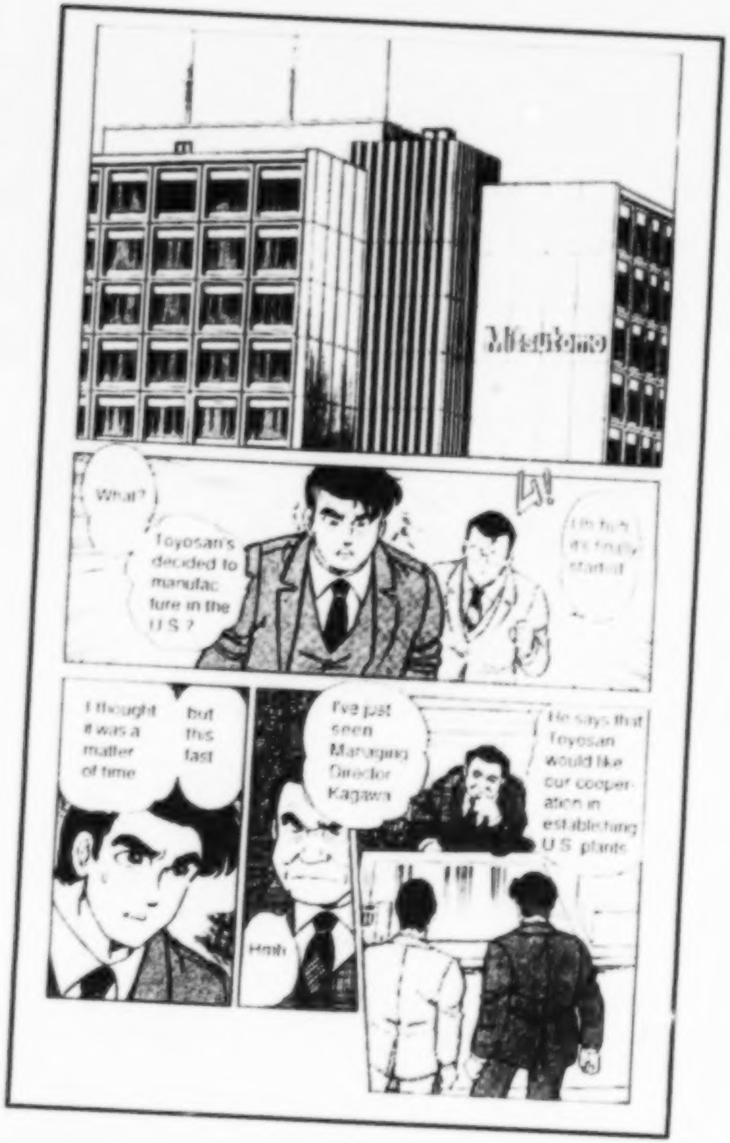
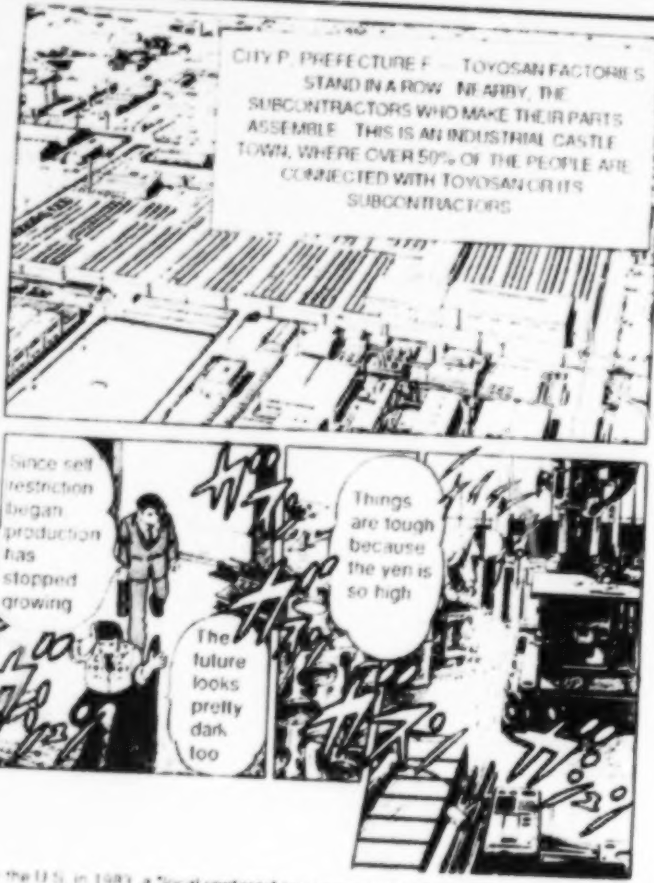

What?
Toyosan's decided to manufacture in the U.S.?
Uh huh it's finally started
I thought it was a matter of time
but this fast
I've just seen Managing Director Kagawa
He says that Toyosan would like our cooperation in establishing U.S. plants
Hmh


CITY P, PREFECTURE F — TOYOSAN FACTORIES STAND IN A ROW. NEARBY, THE SUBCONTRACTORS WHO MAKE THEIR PARTS ASSEMBLE. THIS IS AN INDUSTRIAL CASTLE TOWN, WHERE OVER 50% OF THE PEOPLE ARE CONNECTED WITH TOYOSAN OR ITS SUBCONTRACTORS
Since self restriction began production has stopped growing
The future looks pretty dark too
Things are tough because the yen is so high

In the U.S. in 1983, a "local contents" law reappeared, which required manufacturers selling over 100,000 passenger cars a year to use a proportion of American made parts, set according to the number of cars they sold.

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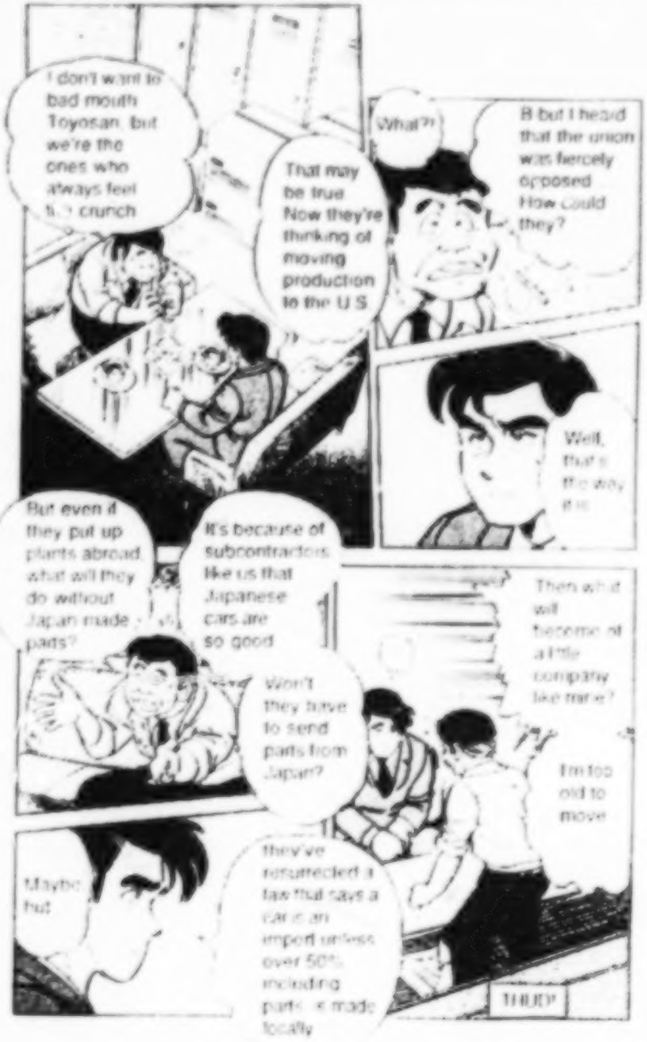
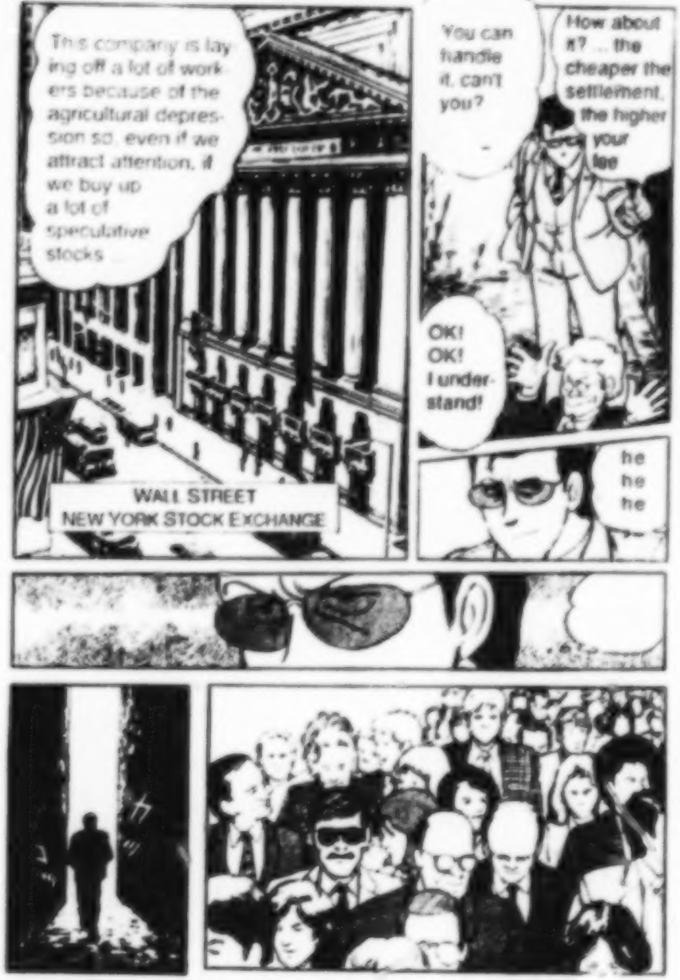

I don't want to bad mouth Toyosan, but we're the ones who always feel the crunch
That may be true Now they're thinking of moving production to the U.S
What?!
B but I heard that the union was fiercely opposed How could they?
Well, that's the way it is
But even if they put up plants abroad, what will they do without Japan made parts?
It's because of subcontractors like us that Japanese cars are so good
Won't they have to send parts from Japan?
Maybe but
they've resurrected a law that says a car is an import unless over 50% including parts is made locally
Then what will become of a little company like mine?
I'm too old to move
THUD!


This company is laying off a lot of workers because of the agricultural depression so, even if we attract attention, if we buy up a lot of speculative stocks ...
WALL STREET NEW YORK STOCK EXCHANGE
You can handle it, can't you?
How about it? ... the cheaper the settlement, the higher your fee
OK! OK! I understand!
he he he

"Priority production industries" have traditionally been fostered by the Japanese government, but in the U.S. they are protected only in special areas such as the aerospace industry. The U.S. has criticized them as a kind of non-tariff barrier.

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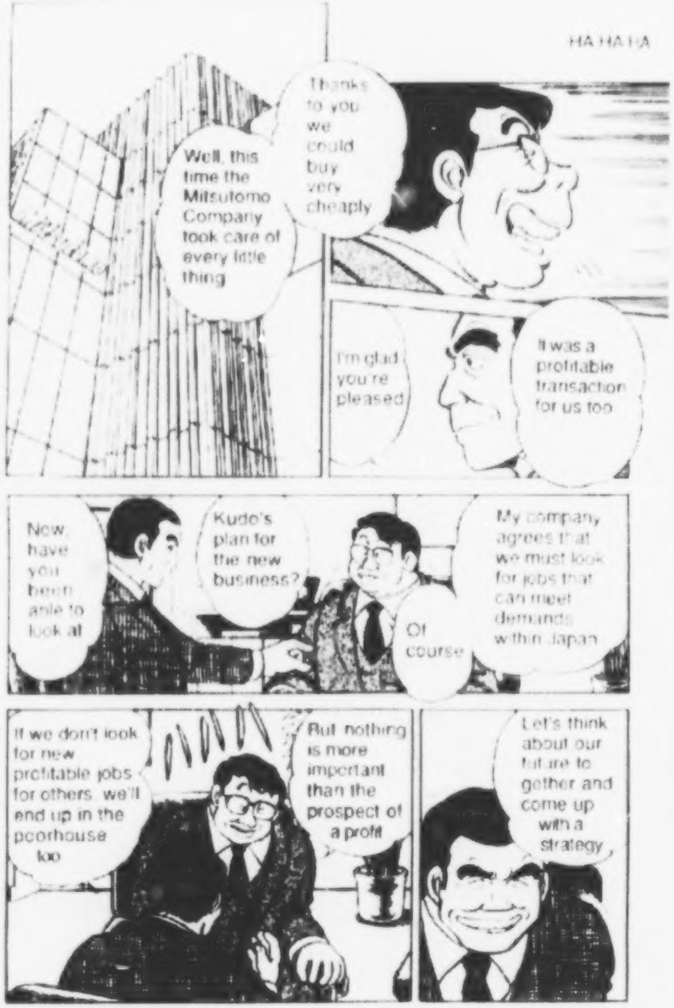
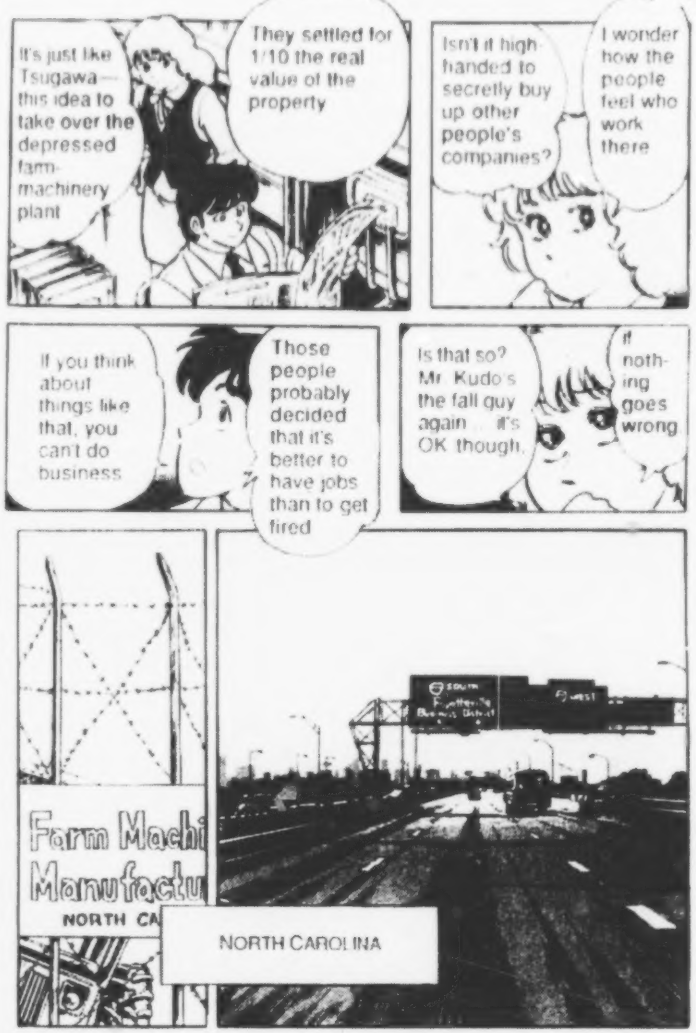

HA HA HA
Well, this time the Mitsutomo Company took care of every little thing
Thanks to you we could buy very cheaply
I'm glad you're pleased
It was a profitable transaction for us too
Now, have you been able to look at
Kudo's plan for the new business?
Of course
My company agrees that we must look for jobs that can meet demands within Japan
If we don't look for new profitable jobs for others, we'll end up in the poorhouse too
But nothing is more important than the prospect of a profit
Let's think about our future together and come up with a strategy

Japan's elasticity of exports to the U.S. was about 4 times that of imports from the U.S. In effect, unless Japan grows at 4 times the speed of the U.S., trade and expenditures will not balance.


55
It's just like Tsugawa—this idea to take over the depressed farm-machinery plant
They settled for 1/10 the real value of the property
Isn't it high-handed to secretly buy up other people's companies?
I wonder how the people feel who work there
If you think about things like that, you can't do business
Those people probably decided that it's better to have jobs than to get fired
Is that so? Mr. Kudo's the fall guy again ... it's OK though,
if nothing goes wrong
Farm Machi
Manufactu
NORTH CA
NORTH CAROLINA

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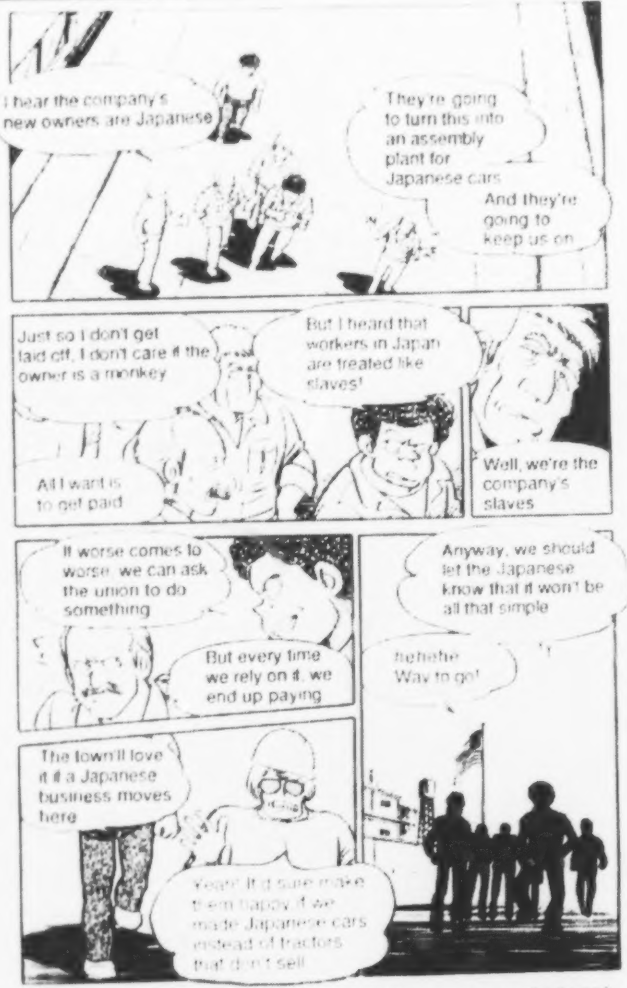
I hear the company's new owners are Japanese
They're going to turn this into an assembly plant for Japanese cars
And they're going to keep us on
Just so I don't get laid off, I don't care if the owner is a monkey
But I heard that workers in Japan are treated like slaves!
All I want is to get paid
Well, we're the company's slaves
If worse comes to worse, we can ask the union to do something
But every time we rely on it, we end up paying
Anyway, we should let the Japanese know that it won't be all that simple
hehehe Way to go!
The town'll love it if a Japanese business moves here
Yeah! It'd sure make them happy if we made Japanese cars instead of tractors that don't sell

When direct overseas investment is progressing, internal production shrinks and employment declines. This phenomenon is called "industrial hollowing out." The high value of the yen promotes overseas investment and brings about hollowing out.

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11

The "Stacked," or "Silent," Time Line

Introduction: This brief lesson is intended as a culminating activity for the unit *Japan 1945-1989: Re-creating a Modern Nation*. The lesson requires a cursory knowledge of important events that occurred in Japan or that affected Japan between 1945 and 1989 and, in some cases, of Japanese people who were involved in them. If students lack this background when the lesson is introduced, they will need additional time to search for information in their textbook, in the previous lessons in the unit, or on the Internet. In any case, you must guide their search, since they should be looking only for information that was available during the specified time period. During this lesson, students should keep in mind the overriding questions that shaped this unit: What did it mean to be Japanese in the postwar period? How did Japanese people perceive and define themselves and their nation between 1945 and 1989?

Objectives: At the conclusion of this lesson, students will be able to:

1. Name several important events and people in Japan's postwar period.
2. Locate and gather information for a particular purpose.
3. Organize and evaluate that information.
4. Explain why any time line presents "a" truth rather than "the" truth.
5. Recognize that history is a process, not just a series of events.

Materials: Handout 11A and transparency of handout (provided on unit CD-ROM); computer and projector; textbook; previous lessons; resources on the Internet (optional); computers (optional)

Time Required: 2 class periods (more if students lack background knowledge)

Procedure:

If you are going to encourage students to use Web sites as sources of information, check (or have a student check) the addresses listed below under **Additional Sources** to ascertain whether sites are current.

1. Remind students that history textbooks invariably contain time lines, and ask them why this is so. *Answers may include comments such as to organize material, to highlight important events, to present information in a format other than narrative.* Ask: Who decides what should be included on time lines? Who decides what should be left out? *Answers will most likely include authors and editors of the textbooks.*

2. Tell students that you know they aren't official authors or editors of the histories of their school or community, but they do seem to have opinions on what events and people in the school and community are important. Divide the class into groups of three to five students. Ask each group to construct a time line covering two or three years (depending on their grade level) and to put on it the five local events that occurred during this time period that seem most important to them. Allow ten minutes for them to make decisions.

3. Ask each group to announce its top five choices. Discuss with the class the difficulties encountered when trying to come to agreement. Help students understand why one person might have felt strongly about a particular event while another might have dismissed it—or wanted it omitted. *Factors such as one's age, gender, and ethnic background, as well as whether one is a sports enthusiast, a musician, or a friend of an award-winner may be listed.*

4. Suggest that students apply the same mode of thinking to the question of what influences authors and editors of time lines in textbooks and in other curriculum materials. What factors might influence these people as they construct time lines for students to consider? *Factors such as those in 3, above, may be mentioned, as well as others, including one's nationality, the purpose of the text, one's dedication to one's country or region, one's political persuasion, the era in which the time line is developed.* The purpose of this exercise is not to dwell on the matter, but to remind students that time lines are human constructs and that, as such, they reflect the biases of their creators.

5. Distribute Handout 11A to the groups of students; at the same time, project the time line on a screen in front of the class. Remind students that the creators of this time line were Americans who wanted this lesson (as well as the previous 10) to emphasize social history and the humanities. At the same time, the "creators" wanted to present the period "through Japanese eyes," so they took the items on this time line from one created by a Japanese organization that specializes in publishing materials about Japan for a non-Japanese audience. (The name of the organization, International Society for Educational Information, Inc., appears on Handout 11A; a copy of ISEI's full time line for the period is available as **Background Notes**.)

6. Ask students to imagine some of the built-in biases of the Japanese authors and editors of a time line on Japan during this period. *The students may refer to nationality, a need to impress outsiders with Japan's accomplishments, a desire to keep outsiders from knowing some events of which Japanese may not be proud, and an inclination to include events that would impress an English-speaking audience.* Ask them to look for evidence in the time line that might support the biases they suspect (*wedding of the Crown Prince? Okinawa reverting to Japan?*) and that contradict the biases they suspect (*the announcement by Emperor Hirohito?*).

7. For homework, ask students to eliminate from the time line the three events that they consider least worth knowing and to be prepared to justify their decisions. (They may use textbooks, previous lessons in this unit, and information from the Internet to aid them in the decision-making process.) Tell them they must replace the items they eliminated with three others that they consider more important—and that they must justify their decisions in a five-paragraph paper to be turned in the next day. (Paragraph 1 [introduction], Paragraphs 2-4 [justification of elimination and replacement of each event], and Paragraph 5 [conclusion]) Remind students that this unit focuses on social history and the humanities and that you would like them to keep this in mind as they make their choices.

8. After you have checked homework and the groups reassemble, ask students in each group to come to a consensus on at least one event to be eliminated and one event that will replace it. *Assuming all "replacement" events occurred during the specified time period, there are—within reason—no right or wrong answers here. The value of the consensus depends upon the quality of the student arguments that achieve it.* If time allows, ask the groups to explain the difficulties they encountered in reaching consensus. What biases, if any, might have contributed to those difficulties?

9. While projecting the time line (which will now contain cross-outs and substitutions) on a screen overhead, ask students if they can agree on all the events listed. *It is not necessary*

that they do so; what is important is that they understand some of the difficulties involved in reaching consensus and in making decisions on controversial issues.

10. In the time remaining, debrief the lesson by asking students what they learned from this activity. Did it meet its objectives? Can they name several important events and people in Japan's postwar period? Did they locate, gather, and evaluate information in order to complete assignments? Can they explain why any time line presents "a" truth rather than "the" truth? Does the time line (and related events/people) help them better understand what it meant to be Japanese during the postwar period?

Recommended Films: *Postwar Japan: 40 Years of Change* (Films for the Humanities and Sciences, 1989) is a very useful video resource from an NHK (Japan's national television network) production. Documenting Japan's rise from the wartime devastation through its economic growth, the video deals with the changes in postwar Japan's society, government, economy, and culture through 1985.

Additional Sources:

This lesson offers an easy opportunity for students to update information using the Internet. A list of relevant web sites follows.

- Time Line of Japanese History
  www.askasia.org/frclasrm/readings/t000013.htm
- Schauwecker's Guide to Japan: Postwar History
  www.japan-guide.com/e/e2124.html
- Schauwecker's Guide to Japan: History Overview
  www.japan-guide.com/e/e2126.html
- Timelines and Chronologies
  www.asiasource.net/features/timelines.cfm
- The Constitution of Japan
  www.gwjapan.com/ftp/pub/general/jpnconst/con1946.txt
- Ehime Press
  www.ehime-np.co.jp/postwar/index_e.html
- Internet East Asian History Sourcebook
  www.fordham.edu/halsall/eastasia/eastasiasbook.html
- ABC of Modern Japanese History
  www.jiyuu-shikan.org/e/
- Japanese History—Modern Period
  www.gojapan.about.com/travel/gojapan/cs/modernhistory
- Stanford Guide for Japan Information Resources
  fuji.stanford.edu/jguide/

Complete International Society for Educational Information Time Line of Postwar Japan

Year	Era	Events
1945	Showa 20	Prime Minister: Suzuki Kantaro (43); Higashikuninomiya Naruhiko (44); Shidehara Kijuro (45). American forces invade Luzon. Japanese forces on Iwojima, Okinawa wiped out. Atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Soviet Union enters war against Japan. Japan accepts terms of Potsdam Declaration. Imperial message announcing end of war. Signing of instrument of surrender. Occupation and control of Japanese homeland by Allied Forces begins. Arrest of persons suspected of war crimes. Disbanding of *zaibatsu* firms. Konoe Fumiro commits suicide. Political parties revived. New election law passed including women's suffrage. GHQ orders separation of state and Shinto religion. Instruction in ethics, geography, history in schools suspended.
1946	Showa 21	Prime Minister: Yoshida Shigeru (46). Announcement by emperor denying his divinity. Various laws pertaining to first, second land reform passed (-1949). International Military Tribunal for Far East opens. New Japanese Constitution promulgated. American educational mission arrives in Japan. Law concerning purge of teachers promulgated, put into effect.
1947	Showa 22	Prime Minister: Katayama Tetsu (47). General strike called for February 1st called off by order of General MacArthur. Labor standards law, antimonopoly law put into effect. Law pertaining to local government promulgated. Election of both houses of Diet, Socialist Party emerges victor, Katayama Tetsu Cabinet formed. Ministry of Labor set up. Laws pertaining to civil servants, school system, educational standards promulgated; 6-3 school system put into effect (6 yrs. elementary school, 3 yrs. middle school compulsory).
1948	Showa 23	Prime Minister: Ashida Hitoshi (48); Yoshida Shigeru (2nd-(49)). International Military Tribunal ends; seven war criminals sentenced in December. United States lays down nine principles for Japanese economic stability. Maritime Safety Agency, Ministry of Construction set up. Minshu Jiyuto (Democratic Liberal Party) formed (name changed in 1950 to Liberal Party). National holidays fixed.
1949	Showa 24	Prime Minister: Yoshida Shigeru (50). Announcement of Dodge line; emphasis on balanced budget. Shoup recommendations for tax reform issued. Exchange rate fixed at 360 yen to dollar. Ministry of International Trade and Industry, Ministry of Postal Services, Tax Administration Agency set up. National Railway Corporation, Monopoly Corporation begin operation. Murals of Horyu-ji Kondo destroyed by fire. Professor Yukawa Hideki receives Nobel Prize in physics. New college system put into effect.
1950	Showa 25	Private export begins. National Police Reserve established. Government decides to carry out "Red Purge," removal of persons from public office begins. Rokuon-ji Kinkaku (Golden Pavilion) destroyed by fire. Cultural Properties Protection Committee organized. Sohyo formed (Nihon Rodokumiai Sohyogikai, General Council of Trade Unions).

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Source: *Japanese Chronology* (Tokyo, Japan: International Society for Educational Information, Inc., 1989), pp. 68-76. Used by permission of the International Society for Educational Information, Japan.

Year	Era	Events
1951	Showa 26	Discussions on peace treaty with United States begin at San Francisco; treaty signed in September. Japan-American Security Protection Treaty signed. Announcement that break up of *zaibatsu* completed. Japan recognized as member of UNESCO. Civil aviation revised. Reopening of Kabuki Theater. Private broadcasting stations begin operation. Enactment of Children's Charter.
1952	Showa 27	Prime Minister: Yoshida Shigeru (51). San Francisco Treaty becomes effective. GHQ abolished. Japan-American Administrative Agreement signed. Government issues announcement protesting Rhee Line. Japan-India Peace Treaty signed. Japan-China Trade Agreement signed. Japan becomes member of International Monetary Fund, World Bank. National Police Reserve renamed National Defense Force. Defense Agency, Maritime Police Force set up. Ceremony designating crown prince as heir apparent. Japan participates in Helsinki Olympics. National Museum of Modern Art opened.
1953	Showa 28	Prime Minster: Yoshida Shigeru (52). Japan-American Commerce and Navigation Treaty signed. Agreement returning Amami Oshima to Japan concluded. Crown Prince goes abroad to attend coronation of Queen Elizabeth of England. Dispute between Japan and Korea over Takeshima Islands. Strike Regulation Law promulgated. Law to speed up amalgamation of towns and villages. Nihon Jiyuto (Japan Liberal Party) formed. NHK television broadcasting begins. Private television broadcasting begins. Decision made to apply new college system to graduate schools.
1954	Showa 29	Prime Minister: Hatoyamo Ichiro (53). Japan-American Mutual Security Agreement signed; Japan obligated to strengthen power of self-defense. Three branches of Self-Defense Agency: Ground Self-Defense Force, Maritime Self-Defense Force, Air Self-Defense Force, established. Japan-Burma Peace Treaty and Reparations Agreement signed. Nihon Minshuto (Japan Democratic Party) formed. Japanese fishing vessel No. 5 Fukuryu-maru suffers damage from Bikini nuclear test. Two laws pertaining to Self-Defense, Police Law promulgated. Excavation and study of site of Heijo Palace in Nara begins. Louvre exhibition opens.
1955	Showa 30	Prime Minister: Hatoyama Ichiro (54, 55). Japan-American Atomic Energy Agreement signed. World meeting to ban nuclear arms held at Hiroshima. Contending factions of Shakaito (Socialist Party) reunited. Jiyu Minshuto (Liberal Democratic Party) formed, Hatayama Ichiro president. Japan participates in Afro-Asian Conference. Atomic energy research institute established. Sakuma Dam completed: 370,000 kw., largest power plant in Japan at the time.
1956	Showa 31	Prime Minister: Ishibashi Tanzan (56). Japan-Soviet joint announcement signed, diplomatic relations restored between Japan and Russia (Hatoyama Ichiro plenipotentiary). Japan becomes member of United Nations. Japan-Soviet Fishing Agreement concluded. Japan-Philippines Reparations Agreement signed, Japan trade fair held in Peking. Japan participates in International Geophysical Year, ship *Soya-maru* departs on first expedition to South Pole. Japanese party succeeds in climbing summit of Mt. Manaslu in Himalayas.
1957	Showa 32	Prime Minister: Kishi Nobusuke (57). Japan elected non-permanent member of United Nations Security Council. Decision on withdrawal of remaining foreign forces in Japan. Diplomatic relations restored with Poland, Czechoslovakia. Prime Minister Kishi Nobusuke visits Southeast Asia, United States. Prime Minister Nehru of India visits Japan. Atomic reactor of Tokai Village Atomic Energy Research Center begins operation. First expeditionary group to South Pole succeeds in establishing Showa Base.

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Year	Era	Events
1958	Showa 33	Prime Minister: Kishi Nobusuke (58). Indonesian Reparations Agreement signed. Negotiations begin on revision of Japan-America Security Treaty. Full-scale discussions begun between Japan and Korea. National Federation of Agricultural Cooperative Associations formed. Kammon vehicular tunnel opened. Third Asian Athletic Games held in Tokyo. Tokyo Tower completed. 10,000 yen notes put into circulation.
1959	Showa 34	Wedding of Crown Prince. New national health insurance law put into effect. Minimum wage standard fixed. Two laws pertaining to self-defense forced through Diet. Prime Minister Kishi visits Europe, South America. Construction begun on New Tokaido Railway Line. National Museum of Western Art opened (Matsukata Collection). Decision made to hold Tokyo Olympics.
1960	Showa 35	Prime Minister: Ikeda Hayato (59, 60). Popular indignation roused over revision of Security Treaty. New Japan-American Treaty of Mutual Security and Cooperation. Administrative Agreement signed. Minshu Shakaito (Democratic Socialist Party) formed, Nishio Suehiro president. Ministry of Home Affairs set up. Japan participates in Rome Olympics. Color television broadcasting begins. Miike coal mine labor dispute. Chairman of Socialist Party Asunuma Inejiro assassinated.
1961	Showa 36	Agricultural Standards Law, revisions of two laws pertaining to self-defense passed. Japan-Indonesia Commerce and Navigation Treaty signed. Japan-Argentine Commerce Treaty signed. Soviet trade fair held. Afro-Asian Writers' Conference held in Tokyo.
1962	Showa 37	Agreement signed between Japan and United States on repayment for GARIOA and EROA aid. Agreement signed concerning lowering of tariffs on Japanese-American trade. Japan-England Commerce and Navigation Treaty signed. ECAFE general meeting held in Tokyo. Japan signs EEC agreement for mutual lowering of tariffs. Economic mission departs for visit to Soviet Union. Japan-China trade memo signed. Japan-China private trade protocol signed. Boring completed on New Tanna Tunnel; Hokuriku Tunnel opened. Wakato Bridge in North Kyushu opened. First Japanese-made atomic reactor begins to function.
1963	Showa 38	Prime Minister: Ikeda Hayato (61). Japan-Soviet Trade Agreement signed. Japan becomes member of OECD. Television transmission between Japan and United States carried out via satellite. Ceremony marking beginning of construction of undersea tunnel between Aomori and Hakodate.
1964	Showa 39	Prime Minister: Sato Eisaku (62). Television transmission between Japan and US, Japan and Europe. Nagoya-Kobe expressway completed. New Tokaido Line begins operation. 18th Olympics held in Tokyo. Komeito (Clean Government Party) formed.
1965	Showa 40	Japan-Korea Basic Agreement signed. Tomonaga Shin'ichiro receives Nobel Prize in physics. 10th national census; total population 98,275,000.
1966	Showa 41	Japan-Soviet Aviation, Japan-Soviet Trade Payment agreements signed in Moscow. Expo '70 formally announced in Paris (to be held in Osaka). Inaugural meeting of Asian Development Bank held in Tokyo. National Theater opened in Tokyo. Presumptive population passes 100 million mark.
1967	Showa 42	Prime Minister: Sato Eisaku (63). Former Prime Minister Yoshida Shigeru dies, given state funeral. Japan Air Lines offers round-the-world service.

Year	Era	Events
1968	Showa 43	Ogasawara (Bonin) Islands returned to Japan. Disruption of universities, student unrest spreads throughout country. Kawabata Yasunari receives Nobel Prize in literature. Kasumigaseki skyscraper completed in Tokyo.
1969	Showa 44	Joint announcement made at conclusion of Sato-Nixon talks; return of Okinawa promised in 1972.
1970	Showa 45	Prime Minister: Sato Eisaku (64). First world fair to be held in Asia opens in Osaka. Election held to choose representatives from Okinawa (5 persons for House of Representatives, 3 for House of Councillors). Japan-Italy trade negotiations signed. Diet league for promoting restoration of diplomatic relations between Japan and China formed. Shin-Nihon Steel Works established. Man-made satellite Osumi launched, fourth after satellites of Russia, America, France. Mishima Yukio commits suicide. 11th national census: population exceeds 100 million.
1971	Showa 46	Agreement on return of Okinawa signed. At Washington meeting of finance ministers of ten countries, yen revalued (308 yen to dollar). Governor of Tokyo Minobe Ryokichi holds talks with Premier Kim Il Sung of North Korea. Emperor and empress visit countries of Western Europe.
1972	Showa 47	Prime Minister: Tanaka Kakuei (65). Okinawa reverts to Japan and is reestablished as Okinawa Prefecture. Tanaka Kakuei Cabinet formed. Prime Minister Tanaka visits China; relations with China are normalized; diplomatic relations with Taiwan are ended. Mural paintings in the seventh century Takamatsuzuka tomb are discovered. Pandas are sent as gift from China. Winter Olympics are held in Sapporo.
1973	Showa 48	Anti-pollution legislation included in the Criminal Code. Kim Dae Jung is abducted from Japan. War in the Middle East leads to a reduction in the supply of oil to Japan; Japanese government makes clear its support for the Arab nations. Kammon Bridge between Honshu and Kyushu is completed. Ezaki Leona receives Nobel Prize in physics. Tsukuba University established.
1974	Showa 49	National Land Agency established. President Ford of the United States visits Japan. Sato Eisaku receives Nobel Peace Prize. Agreement between Japan and South Korea concerning the Continental Shelf. Aviation and trade agreements between Japan and China.
1975	Showa 50	Prime Minister: Miki Takeo (66). The Emperor and Empress visit the United States. Queen Elizabeth of England visits Japan. Six-nation summit in Rambouillet (Japan, United States, France, West Germany, England, and Italy). New Tokaido Line extended from Shin-Osaka to Okayama and Hakata. Okinawa International Ocean Exposition held. Largest number of corporate bankruptcies since the war. Party of Japanese female mountain climbers succeed in scaling Mt. Everest.
1976	Showa 51	Prime Minister: Fukuda Takeo (67). Lockheed scandal widens (former Prime Minister Tanaka Kakuei is arrested). Ceremonies celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the Emperor's accession. Soviet military plane lands at Hakodate Airport; pilot seeks asylum. Nine nation summit (San Juan).
1977	Showa 52	Law on the territorial sea and law on provisional measures relating to the fishing zone; recognizes sovereignty as extending twelve miles offshore and the right to regulate fishing as extending two hundred miles offshore. Signing of agreement between the United States and Japan concerning fisheries off the coasts of the United States; signing of provisional agreement with the Soviet Union concerning fisheries. Largest recession since the end of the war (1,100,000 unemployed). Opening of National Museum of Ethnography.

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Year	Era	Events
1979	Showa 54	Prime Minister: Ohira Misayoshi (69). Grumman-Douglas procurement scandal. President Carter of the United States visits Japan. Seven-nation summit (Tokyo). Promulgation of reign title law.
1980	Showa 55	Prime Minister: Suzuki Zenko (70). Prime Minister Ohira Masayoshi dies and is succeeded by Prime Minister Suzuki Zenko. Premier Hua Guofeng of China visits Japan. Double election of both houses of the Diet; Liberal-Democratic Party wins large victory. Conference of Japanese and American economic leaders. Ceremony celebrating the completion of repairs to the Daibutsuden of Todaiji (Nara).
1981	Showa 56	February 7 is established as "Northern Territories Day." Pope John Paul II visits Japan. Prime Minister Prem of Thailand visits Japan. Establishment of Administrative Reform Promotion Headquarters by the Government and the Liberal-Democratic Party. Fukui Kenichi receives Nobel Prize in Chemistry.
1982	Showa 57	Prime Minister: Nakasone Yasuhiro (71). Italian President Pertini, French President Mitterand, Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang, English Prime Minister Thatcher visit Japan. New Tohoku Line begins service (Omiya-Morioka). New Joetsu Line begins service. Completion of restoration work on Katsura Detached Palace. Prime Minister Nakasone Yasuhiro forms Cabinet.
1983	Showa 58	Prime Minister: Nakasone Yasuhiro (72). First Election of the House of Councillors under the system of proportional representation; Liberal-Democratic Party maintains stable majority. Premier Kohl of West Germany, Chinese Communist Party General Secretary Hu Yao-bang, United States President Reagan visit Japan. Volcanic eruption on Miyakejima.
1984	Showa 59	President Chun Doo Hwan of Korea visits Japan; Emperor expresses regrets for Japanese annexation of Korea. New paper currency issued. Ministry of Welfare announces that Japan has highest rate of longevity in world. Establishment of National Council on Educational Reform. Foreign Minister Abe visits famine region of Ethiopia. Australia presents Japan with koalas. Younger (third) son of Prince Mikasa is established as Prince Takamado.
1985	Showa 60	Privatization of Nippon Telegraph & Telephone Corporation and Japan Tobacco Inc. Establishment of Equal Employment Opportunity Law. International Science Exposition held in Tsukuba. Onaruto Bridge opens. JAL plane crashes, killing 520 people.
1986	Showa 61	Prime Minister: Nakasone Yashuhiro (73). Tokyo Summit, Present Aquino of the Philippines visits Japan. Celebration of the sixtieth anniversary of the Emperor's accession. Double election of both Houses of the Diet; Liberal-Democratic Party wins overwhelming victory. New Liberal Club is dissolved; members are reabsorbed into the Liberal-Democratic Party. Yen continues to rise in value. Establishment of law making retirement age for sixty. English Prince of Wales visits Japan.
1987	Showa 62	Prime Minister: Takeshita Noboru (74). United States announces economic sanctions against Japan. National railway system is broken into groups and privatized. Whaling in the Antarctic is ended. Seto Ohashi (bridge) is completed. Conference of leaders of seven world religions. Tonegawa Susumu receives Nobel Prize in physiology and medicine. Takeshita Noboru becomes prime minister.

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Year	Era	Events
1988	Showa 63	Seikan Tunnel officially opens: world's largest undersea railway links Hokkaido, Honshu. The Seto Ohashi system between Honshu and Shikoku opens: together with the opening of Seikan Tunnel, marks connection of the four major Japanese islands by railway. Recruit scandal; in connection with the selling and buying of the shares of Recruit Co. before they were put on the open market. Stone coffin in the sixth century at the Fujinoki ancient burial mound, Nara Prefecture, opened, a gilt bronze shoe, three swords, earrings, necklaces and human teeth, etc. found.
1989	Heisei 1	Emperor Showa dies, the present Emperor Akihito ascends the throne.

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Through Japanese Eyes: Time Line 1945-1989

	1945	
Emperor Hirohito makes announcement denying his divinity.		New Japanese constitution is promulgated.
	1950	
San Francisco Treaty becomes effective and GHQ is abolished.		National Museum of Modern Art opens.
	1955	World meeting to ban nuclear arms held at Hiroshima.
Crown Prince Akihito weds.		
Popular indignation is roused over revision of Japan-American Security Treaty.	1960	Color television broadcasting begins.
		18th Olympics are held in Tokyo.
	1965	
		Presumptive population of Japan passes 100 million mark.
Kawabata Yasunari receives Nobel prize in literature.		
First world fair to be held in Asia opens in Osaka.	1970	
Winter Olympics are held in Sapporo.		Okinawa reverts to Japan and is established as Okinawa prefecture.
Party of Japanese female mountain climbers succeed in scaling Mt. Everest.	1975	
		National Museum of Ethnography opens.
Japanese and American economic leaders hold conference.	1980	
Equal Employment Opportunity Law is Established.	1985	President Chun Doo Hwan of Korea visits Japan; Emperor expresses regrets for Japanese annexation of Korea.
	1989	Emperor Showa dies; Emperor Akihito ascends the throne.

Source: "Japanese Chronology," *Understanding Japan* (Tokyo: International Society for Educational Information, Inc., 1989).

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